

DES MOINES ADOPTS THE COMMISSION FORM OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

An abstract of a Thesis by
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December, 1975
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THE PROBLEM. The purpose of this work was to analyze the various factors that were involved in the adoption of the Commission Form of Government by the City of Des Moines, and to see if the Des Moines Plan was really a reform movement as its backers claimed or an attempt to establish a form of government more easily controlled by them.

THE PROCEDURE. The first step, after achieving a fundamental understanding of the situation, was a careful study of all the newspapers published in Des Moines from January, 1905, to April, 1908. Next was a study of the personal papers of the prominent people involved, such as John MacVicar and Harvey Ingham. The third step of the project was the taking of a random sample of the names listed in the Des Moines City Directory in order to achieve a socio-economic breakdown of the city's voting precincts to help understand what type of people supported or opposed the plan. This was followed by a study of Journals of the House and Senate of the thirty-first and thirty-second General Assembly of Iowa to achieve an understanding of the legislature's motives in passing the Des Moines Plan. The last step was a study of the records of the Iowa Supreme Court involving the test case which questioned the constitutionality of the Des Moines Plan.

CONCLUSION. The Des Moines Plan appeared to be an attempt on the part of the lawyers, editors, and some merchants of the city to establish a government, controlled by them, that was more acceptable to their moral standards and their business needs. The main reason for this appeared to be that they were resentful if not fearful of the amount of influence held by the middle and lower classes of the city, who opposed the Des Moines Plan, in the decision making process which the reformers felt led to corrupt and inefficient government.

DES MOINES ADOPTS THE COMMISSION
FORM OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

A Thesis
Presented to
The School of Graduate Studies
Drake University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
John F. O'Connell
December 1975

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	Page iv
LIST OF FIGURES	v
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. DES MOINES UNDER THE COUNCIL-WARD SYSTEM	11
3. THE REFORM MOVEMENT	28
4. THE OPPOSITION	44
5. THE DES MOINES PLAN IN THE IOWA STATE GENERAL ASSEMBLY	53
6. THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE ADOPTION OF THE DES MOINES PLAN	74
7. A SOCIO-ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTION RETURNS FOR THE DES MOINES PLAN REFERENDUM	99
8. THE COURT BATTLE	111
9. THE FIRST ELECTION UNDER THE DES MOINES PLAN	122
10. CONCLUSION	149
BIBLIOGRAPHY	156
APPENDIXES	163
A. COMPARISON OF ADVERTIZERS IN THE <u>DES MOINES</u> <u>REGISTER AND LEADER</u> , <u>THE DES MOINES DAILY</u> <u>NEWS</u> , <u>THE DES MOINES DAILY CAPITOL</u> , AND THE <u>DES MOINES TRIBUNE</u>	164
B. A BREAKDOWN OF THE RANDOM SAMPLE OF THE POPULATION LISTED IN THE 1907 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES BY VOTING PRECINCTS	173

APPENDIXES

Page

C.	A PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF THE RANDOM SAMPLE OF THE POPULATION LISTED IN THE 1907 <u>DES MOINES CITY DIRECTORY</u> INTO SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES BY VOTING PRECINCTS	175
D.	RESULTS OF PRIMARY ELECTION	177
E.	ACTUAL VOTING RETURNS BY PRECINCT OF THE TOP TEN CANDIDATES IN THE PRIMARY AND FINAL ELECTIONS	178
F.	ANALYSIS OF THE TOP TEN CANDIDATES ACCORDING TO THEIR ORDER OF PLACEMENT	180
G.	A GRAPHIC COMPARISON OF THE CLASS PERCENTAGE AGAINST THE PERCENTAGE OF NO VOTES CAST IN EACH PRECINCT	181
H.	GRADED WAGES AND SALARIES WITH HOURS WORKED PER DAY AND WEEK, AND VARIATIONS IN RATE FOR 1907	189
I.	RESULTS OF NEWSPAPER BALLOT TAKEN BY THE DES MOINES DAILY CAPITOL TO DETERMINE PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN REGARD TO A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT	207

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Vote on the Des Moines Plan and City Hall Building	104

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
1. Map of Des Moines	39
2. Map of Des Moines	61
3. An Example of J. N. "Ding" Darling's Cartoon Advocating Reform of Municipal Government	77
4. An Example of J. N. "Ding" Darling's Cartoon Advocating Reform of Municipal Government	78
5. Map of Des Moines	100
6. Graph of Class V Percentages versus no vote Percentages	108
7. Graph of Classes IV and V Percentages versus no vote Percentages	109
8. Darling's Front Page Cartoon Showing the <u>Register and Leader's</u> Disappointment of the Final Election Results	141
9. Diagram of the Departments and Offices Controlled by Each Commissioner under the Commission Plan	145

Chapter 1

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to analyze Des Moines' role in the origin and development of the commission form of government. If Des Moines was not the originator, what part did it play in popularizing the commission government? Second, why did Des Moines, a city in a predominately rural state, switch from the prevailing form of city government in America--the mayor-council system which was a reproduction in miniature of the federal system--to the then radical concept of the commission form of government?¹ Third, who were the leaders of the movement for the establishment of a commission form of government in Des Moines and was there any opposition to this proposed change in the city's government? Fourth, to what extent was the struggle over the adoption of the new type of government a class conflict? Lastly,

¹The mayor-council is the oldest and predominant pattern of city government in the United States. Patterned somewhat after the federal government, the legislative power is vested in a plural-member council elected at large, by wards, or by a combination of the two bases, and the executive power is exercised by a mayor who is either popularly elected by the voters or selected by the council from its own membership. Depending on the powers of the mayor, the form is known as a weak or strong mayor-council form. /George S. Blair, "Mayor-Council," Dictionary of Political Science, ed. Joseph Dunner (New York: Philosophical Library, 1964)/.

did this change in the form of government produce the desired result of a better government for Des Moines?

James Bryce wrote in The American Commonwealth that, "There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States."¹ Bryce's words reflected the thinking of upper and middle-class city dwellers about the conditions in American cities at the turn of the century. The reason for this was the exposure of corruption and the non-responsiveness of city government to the will of the people by the "muckrakers" such as Lincoln Steffens in his series of articles for McClure's magazine that were collected into a book entitled, The Shame of the Cities. Steffens wrote that, "The spirit of graft and of lawlessness is the American spirit...."² Statements like this were upsetting to the members of the upper and middle-classes who were proposing changes to correct the situation. However, the changes they wanted were generally designed to increase their own political power at the expense of the lower classes who the middle-class felt were over-represented in city government. These changes were going to come to the cities under the guise of reform. No matter what type of movement, the reform label was attacked to it

¹James Bryce, The American Commonwealth, I (3rd ed; New York: MacMillan and Co., 1895), p. 637.

²Richard Hofstadter, ed. Great Issues in American History, II (New York: Random House, 1958), p. 250.

in some way sooner or later...¹ One of these reforms in city government was the commission form of government.

Commission government, as applied to the city, was defined as that type of city government in which a small board of less than ten and elected at large, exercised substantially the entire municipal authority, each member being assigned as a head of a rather definite division of the administrative work.² The commission form of government had been employed in some form in America for a long time. Its antecedents included the old colonial system of borough government, the New England town government, the government of the national capital since 1878, the system of county government, and the plan of appointing commissioners to manage a city's affairs in time of emergency. This latter instance was perhaps the most important. Illustrative of such action was Memphis, Tennessee, which had been struck by a severe epidemic in 1878. Memphis' mayor-council government was unable to cope with the problems caused by the disease due to the lack of concentrated responsibility. So the city with the permission of the state legislature adopted the

¹Mary Alice Witaker, "The Politics of Urban Government Reform: A Case Study" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Iowa State University of Science and Technology, 1969), p. 16.

²Tso Shuen Chang, History and Analysis of the Commission and City Manager Plans of Municipal Government in the United States, University of Iowa Monographs studies in the Social Sciences, VI (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1918), p. 10; see also, Clinton R. Woodruff, ed. City Government by Commission (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1911), p. 12.

commission form of government. Under this system the governor appointed the commissioners to run the city in the best interest of the people, and they did so from 1879-1891. However, this system denied the time-honored theory of the separation of powers as practiced by the national and state governments. It also denied the peoples' right to elect their officials, since the governor appointed the commissions. For these reasons, Memphis returned to the mayor-council form of government that had mismanaged the city's business. So it was that the commission form of government, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, was regarded merely as a temporary expedient, and as soon as the emergency and its aftermath had passed, the old system of government, the mayor-council, was restored. This might have remained the fate of commission government had not nature and the progressive movement joined forces.

Before 1901, Galveston, Texas, which was governed by a mayor and a council of twelve aldermen both elected by the people but each with powers independent of the others, had been characterized as "one of the worst-governed urban communities in the whole country," and its municipal history has been said to "afford illustrations of almost every vice in local government."¹ The authorities "had fallen into the disastrous practice of bonding the city to provide for

¹Chang, op. cit., p. 55.

annual deficits. In less than twenty years nearly three million dollars worth of debt had been accumulated in this way alone."¹ This, of course, resulted in a high tax rate for a city of its size.

Such was the character of the city government when on September 8, 1900, a fierce storm forced a tidal wave from the Gulf of Mexico over the city, destroying a large portion of it and killing between five and six thousand people. The whole organization of the city was demoralized and chaos reigned everywhere. The city defaulted on its outstanding bonds and found itself faced with bankruptcy. The existing city government, incompetent and dishonest, was utterly helpless in such a great catastrophe. So the leading people of Galveston, who according to progressive writers were the local businessmen, asked the legislature of Texas to authorize the commission plan of government for them. There were to be five members, the mayor and two councilmen appointed by the Governor and two councilmen elected by the people of Galveston.

On September 18, 1901, the new government was duly installed. On taking charge, the commission government found an empty treasury; a city without credit; and a large floating debt in the shape of scrip or due bills given in settlement of services and labor performed and supplies bought. Also they were confronted with the fact that many citizens refused

¹Ibid.

to pay their taxes on account of a lack of confidence in the city government. The five businessmen who served on the first commission worked together to inspire confidence in the government. They appointed the rest of the city officials with regard to qualifications and honesty and not political influence. They conducted the city's business like a business corporation. All purchases or contracts over \$500.00 were awarded on a basis of sealed bids and this saved the city thousands of dollars. Cash on hand was loaned out subject to call, on approved security, to different institutions at 3 percent interest.

The commission soon put the city on a cash basis and with its credit restored, the city could go into the open market and buy supplies on a competitive basis. At the same time, they reduced the city's floating indebtedness by \$190,000.00.¹ However, the method of the governor appointing three of the five members of the commission, lasted only until 1903 when its constitutionality was challenged. At that time, a criminal case involving a ten dollar fine assessed by the city recorder against a drayman for violating a sanitary ordinance, was appealed to the Court of Criminal Appeals upon the ground that the whole city government was unconstitutional, hence the recorder had no authority whatever to impose a fine; the

¹"Two successful experiments in Civic Government: Galveston and Houston, Texas," The Arena, 4:9 (January, 1907), 9; Des Moines Daily News, December 12, 1905.

grounds for appealing the case was that a majority of the commission being appointive, the citizen was deprived of the right to vote guaranteed him by the constitution. The criminal court upheld the action of the recorder but the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State of Texas, which ruled the appointive commission form of government unconstitutional on the grounds that the citizens had no voice in the selection of the officers who were administering the government. Later, in another case, the Supreme Court held the appointive feature constitutional in civil matters, but said that the commission had no police jurisdiction.¹ The result of this controversy was that the legislature was asked to grant the right to elect the mayor and all the commissioners to the people. The legislature granted this request. However, this innovation, which one writer described as "an abandonment of the commission idea" led to the decline of the influence of the business community in the commission government.²

The Galveston commission would probably have been discarded as other city commissions before it, but unlike the earlier experiments, which were usually unnoticed by people outside of their own cities, the system inaugurated

¹"Galveston's Civic Management," American Municipalities, 7 (February, 1907), 51.

²Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Progressivism--The Critical Issues, ed. David M. Kennedy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 100.

by Galveston attracted a great deal of attention in all parts of the country and ushered in a new era in the history of American municipal government. There were two reasons for this widespread interest. One was the phenomenal recovery by the city of its financial credit under the sound business practices of the commission. The other reason was that Galveston had started its new system of government almost at the time when nationwide civic interest was at its highest point. As Samuel Hays pointed out in his article on municipal reform, people were especially unhappy with the special interests controlling their city. This was because the power of the special interests, "lay primarily in their ability to manipulate the political process, by bribery and corruption, for their own ends." The public anger over such arrangements led to a demand for honest officials and responsible government. "To accomplish their goals, reformers sought basic modification in the political system, both in the structure of government and in the manner of selecting public officials."¹

Popular dissatisfaction with the complicated and irresponsible system of city government that generally led to "the tendency to concentrate power and responsibility in the office of mayor," was clearly seen in the large cities during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.² However, there was no rush to try Galveston's highly successful

¹Ibid., p. 88.

²Chang, op. cit., p. 53.

commission government under normal conditions. Up to 1906, only one other city, Houston, had taken up the plan. In 1905, Houston adopted the commission form of government not because of an emergency, but because of the poor quality of its government. The original Houston Plan, unlike the Galveston Plan, concentrated almost all the powers of administration in the hands of the mayor, though this plan was later revised for fear of too much power in the hands of one man, to something similar to the Galveston Plan.¹

The plan of government as adopted in Galveston and in Houston was sometimes described by certain publicists as an "unguarded commission." Those writers agreed that the plan was an honest attempt to secure better government but criticized it for ignoring the fundamental principals of American democratic government--that is the separation of power. Only so long as Galveston, Houston, or any city operating under this system, possessed commissions composed only of honorable, competent and conscientious officials would they be sure of having good government. But there was no reason to believe that either of these two cities would not occasionally have an inefficient and corrupt commission which, with wide and centralized power, would be much more capable of injuring the city than an equally

¹In fact, the four commissioners or aldermen according to the original plan acted simply as his assistants, although when acting together they exercised a check on the mayor's actions in a few specified matters, such as those relating to expenditures (Ibid., p. 66).

corrupt and inefficient set of administrative officers with decentralized powers. But once the superiority of the plan when compared to the mayor-council plan was shown, all that remained was for some city to make the commission officials less autocratic and more responsive to the will of the people. It was in this area that Des Moines played an important role by democratizing the commission form of government, thereby making it more appealing to other cities.

Chapter 2

Des Moines Under the Council-Ward System

Des Moines did not appear to be a city that was destined to become a leader in municipal reform. The problems that faced the municipal government in Des Moines were those common to all American cities. They included the maintenance of order; care of the public health, sources and regulations of the water supply; fire protection; intra-urban transportation; disposal of garbage and sewage and the cleaning of streets; regulation of saloons and suppression of vice; dealing with the smoke, noise, and billboard nuisances and overhead wires; paving, sewers, bridges, viaducts, etc.; the dangers from grade crossings; control of auctioneers, hucksters, peddlers and licensed dealers generally; parks and public playgrounds and their regulation and control; supervision of libraries, hospitals and to some extent, public charities; public, private and cooperative services such as lighting, heating, and telephones; and a multitude of other matters which the city controlled or shared control with the county and state.¹ Des Moines, in common with other cities, dealt with their problems through a government based

¹John J. Hamilton, The Dethronement of the City Boss (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1910), p. 30.

on the principles of the separation of powers and popular election of all officials, administrative and judicial, as well as legislators. These principles, when applied to city government, tended to result in an irresponsible and corrupt organization, and also the fallacious idea that popular election of all the administrative officers, which simply resulted in the long ballot, blind-voting, and the political boss, would produce good government.¹ Cities like St. Louis, Minneapolis, Pittsburg, Philadelphia and many more whose governments were based on these ideas were having their shameful stories of corrupt government told to the country by muckrakers, such as Lincoln Steffens.

Yet this system, according to the arguments of Samuel Hays, did have its advantages. The city councilmen were local leaders in this decentralized political system. "They spoke for their areas, the economic interest of their inhabitants, their residential concerns, their educational, recreational, and religious interest."² The councilmen conducted themselves similarly to legislators on the national and state levels in dealing with expenditures of money or other matters of importance. In other words, they followed the practice

¹Tso Shuen Chang, History and Analysis of the Commission and City Manager Plans of Municipal Government in the United States, University of Iowa Monographs, studies in the Social Sciences, VI (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1918), p. 63.

²Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Progressivism--The Critical Issues, ed. David M. Kennedy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 94.

of log-rolling. They defended the community's cultural practices; its distinctive languages or national customs; its attitude toward liquor and its saloons and dance halls.¹ Ward representation on the city council was an integral part of city government, for it allowed the people of "particular geographical areas of the city, to express their views more clearly through councilmen peculiarly receptive to their concerns." The result was a "direct, reciprocal flow of power between the wards and the center of city affairs."² However, the City Hall was generally "a circumlocution office, where it was usually impossible to find any official who could do more with any petition or complaint than take it under advisement and refer it to somebody else who was equally unwilling to give it attention."³ These observations of the muckrakers and Hays were readily applicable to the development and operation of Des Moines' city government.

The city of Des Moines was chartered on January 28, 1857, when the Seventh General Assembly passed a law putting an end to the town of Fort Des Moines. The city was created with seven wards--three on the east side of the Des Moines River and four on the west side. A city council was established to govern the city. The council was to be made up of a mayor and any number of aldermen. The number of aldermen

¹Ibid., p. 95.

²Ibid., p. 103.

³Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 59, 92 & 93; See also, Des Moines Register and Leader, November 18, 1905.

varied from eighteen to nine with the latter number established firmly by the legislature in 1878. The mayor and two aldermen were to be elected at large, while the other members of the council were to be elected from each ward. The appointive Board of Public Works was the chief executive board of the city exercising the executive authority of the city. This Board was responsible for seeing that the will of the council was carried out in such matters as street cleaning and repairs, construction of bridges and maintenance of city parks. There were also boards in charge of Parks and the Public Library. The mayor of Des Moines was a figurehead. He had few and comparatively unimportant duties. He had certain appointive powers which included the Board of Public Works and the Chief of Police, but in every case his appointments had to be confirmed by the city council, and it was to that body that the appointees were obliged to show their loyalty.

This system of government, as has been mentioned before, was not evil in and of itself. It represented the thinking of this period of a government based on the separation of powers and Jacksonian Democracy. The problem was that it had a tendency to encourage the development of a political machine that was based upon the ever expanding suffrage of nineteenth century America. The people were generally encouraged not to think in terms of a particular person and whether he was good for the office or not but that he was a good party man, the usual result was the looting of the public treasury by these "party" men.

The city government also had a problem, as Hays pointed out, in the failure to make provisions for shifts in political power. A shift in power did occur with the development of big contractors, large newspapers, and public service corporations and other businesses. These businesses, the core of the city wealth, found that a city government based on universal suffrage was occasionally unfriendly to their interest. These interests included franchises for the public service corporations, taxes, street paving, and similar matters. Under such circumstances, the businessmen sought other methods of influencing municipal affairs. This resulted in what the Progressives called the corrupt political machine.¹ While part of the original Des Moines Charter tried to eliminate the influence of public corruption by stating that no member of the council was eligible for any office within the gift of that body, nor could any member be lawfully interested, directly or indirectly in the profit of any contract or job or work or services to be rendered for the city, this blocked the legal channels of participation by the contractors and the public service corporation of the city in the decision-making process by denying them a "representative in the city government that would look out for their interest."² Hay's observation on this was that:

¹Hays, op. cit., pp. 103-104.

²Brigham Johnson, History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1911), p. 154.

corruption stems from an inconsistency between control of the instruments of formal governmental power and the exercise of informal influence in the community. If powerful groups are denied access to formal power in legitimate ways, they seek access through procedures which the community considers illegitimate and corrupt government therefore, does not reflect the genius of evilmen, but rather the lack of acceptable means for those who exercise power in the private community to wield the same influence in government affairs.... In this scheme of things, corruption in public affairs grew out of individual personal failings and a deficient governmental structure which could not hold those predispositions in check, rather than from the peculiar nature of social forces.¹

The result was a maze of accommodations between the business community, which provided services to the city government and the community, and wanted to exercise political power and the elected officials who possessed this power.² These accommodations usually took the form of a bribe made by these business interest to an alderman for his voting "right" on issues that were of concern to them. The outcome of this was an improvised system of government which resulted in years of scandals and inefficiency in city government.

¹Hays, op. cit., p. 102.

²Hays' ideas were foreshadowed in an article appearing in the Des Moines Register and Leader. A portion of that article follows:

"The system is...a hodge-podge of legislation made to fit circumstances which arose from time to time until Des Moines today, through special legislation affecting every city in Iowa has a system of government entirely unique in its characteristics, based upon no known law of administrative science and administered with no effort to keep conflicting features from working havoc to the city and its people" (Des Moines Register and Leader, December 16, 1906).

The history of Des Moines under this scheme of government was no exception. The inefficiency of the city government was constantly being played up in the three daily newspapers.¹ The conditions of the city's streets was one of their favorite examples. The Register and Leader on October 3, 1905, featured an editorial that blasted William W. Wise and the Board of Public Works for the "streets encumbered by refuse, dilapidated street signs and compost, worn-out pavements and filthy alleys."² The Daily News featured several articles giving the reason why the streets were filled with slush. It was very simple--the appropriation had been spent.³ The money was simply wasted away through mismanagement. This usually meant that the money had been wasted through poor bookkeeping and inspection. In other words, the city did not always get the quality it paid for or was buying more than it needed. Also, the Board of Public Works was plagued by the fact that it served the city council which looked upon the positions filled by the Board as part of the spoils system.⁴ These conditions were so bad that the city was unable to remove the snow from a January snow storm that had fallen on the city streets. The city was

¹They were the Des Moines Register and Leader under the editorship of Harvey Ingham; the Des Moines Daily News under the editorship of William Hale; and the Des Moines Daily Capitol under the editorship of Lafayette Young.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, October 3, 1905.

³Des Moines Daily News, January 14, March 23, 1906.

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, November 23, 1906.

so desperate for money that one of the councilmen proposed that the city sell twenty of the city horses to raise the money.¹ However, this was only a temporary solution and did nothing about the accumulating filth in the city's streets. The state of the whole city was best revealed by an article appearing in the News in late March, 1906. It told the story about a little dog that died on the city's streets:

A few weeks ago the body of a dead dog lay in plain sight of nearly every passerby on Locust Street near the Capitol Building. It had been there 9 days. Finally, on the 9th day Judge Bishop of the Supreme Court who had grown tired of a groan-rising once or twice a day, called upon the city health department and suggested that the lapse of 9 days, to say nothing of the stench, proved conclusively to the court that the little dog was dead.

Dr. Miller was helpless, he said. If the dog's body was to be taken away he must take it away in the back of his buggy. The good doctor actually did that very thing. There was no money for that purpose.²

Not only were the city streets filthy, they were also poorly lighted. The Daily News tried to deal with this problem by conducting an extensive campaign to make sure that all the city's gas street lights were burning. This was important not only from the stand point of safety, but also because the city paid for these lights on the basis

¹Des Moines Daily News, January 15, 1906.

²Des Moines Daily News, March 24, 1906.

that they worked.¹ In other words, if a light did not work, the city did not have to pay for it. So the city paid only for the energy actually consumed. The city council took steps to make sure they got what they paid for in lighting when in 1904 they passed a resolution that monthly reports would be filed on the part of a light inspector. He would report which lights were not working or were in poor condition. This would not only save the city money but also improve the lighting service supplied to the city by the power companies, Des Moines Edison Light Company and Welsback Lighting Company, since it was assumed that they would fix all the lights that were not working so as to increase their revenue from the city which at this time was approximately \$5,300.00 per month.² The two companies provided the city with basically three types of light--gas, electric arc, and moonlight incandescent.³

Despite these measures, continued reports of poor lighting service appeared in the News. The News reported on June 30, 1905, for example that "twelve out of fourteen gas lights on seventh and eighth streets between Clark and

¹The Daily News referred to this plan of operation as the European Plan. In other words, the city pays for what it gets and gets what it wants for prices that have been agreed upon (Des Moines Daily News, July 25, 1905).

²Des Moines Daily News, July 25, 1905.

³An incandescent moonlight burner was a light that burned only on the nights that there was no moon visible in the sky.

University Avenue, were in miserable condition. Only two were up to the standard required by the Welsback contract." In another case observed on the same day, an inspection of Grand Avenue from twenty-first to forty-third street showed that "the street was adorned by only twenty lights in good condition, while forty-five lights were not burning or were too weak to be of benefit."¹ Yet the most blatant example that nothing serious was being done about the Des Moines lighting problem, until the News started its campaign, was the case of the incandescent moonlight burner at twenty-ninth street and Ingersoll which failed to burn for forty-five consecutive nights. In this instance the city light inspector, Frank Harley, whose father, an ex-alderman, was the Des Moines agent for the Welsback Lighting Company, knew of the condition of which property owners complained. The Board of Public Works had also been notified. The citizens were promised action but received none. On top of all this the News found no available records at the City Hall showing that the city did not pay for the light which failed to burn. The city should have been given a credit of \$8.11½, but no record of this credit was found.²

The inefficiency, incompetence, or negligence of the city government did not stop with just the streets and the lights; it carried over into work done for the city. There

¹Des Moines Daily News, July 27, 1905.

²Des Moines Daily News, July 25, 1905.

were continual cost overruns on projects done for the city such as in the construction of the city library which went \$20,000.00 over initial cost estimates. Another instance was the installation of a watermain in East Des Moines that was supposed to be 12 inch pipe but instead an 8 inch pipe was used which, it was maintained by some engineers, would have to be replaced in ten years to install the larger pipe because of population growth.¹ However, the best monument to the city government's incompetency was the Sixth Avenue Bridge across the Des Moines River. After eight years of construction, it was unfinished and way above projected costs by some \$50,000.00. The reason that the bridge took so long to complete was because the city had failed to purchase land for the approaches to the bridge and could not agree with the owners afterwards. So the bridge was built, but was unusable as there was no access onto it.²

Another area in which the city was deficient was in the grading of the streets. Each year when the appropriation ordinance was made up the balance in the grading fund was divided equally among the different aldermen, no matter how much had to be done in grading in any certain ward. As a result, the first and seventh wards, the two largest where much grading was needed, went without needed improvements, whereas the third and fourth had more money than was actually needed.³

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, May 26, 1907.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, June 20, 1907.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, December 23, 1906.

Thus the system involved great weakness in administration and slowness in action. But the history of Des Moines' poor government involved more than inefficiency. Des Moines also had its own story of shame and corruption. "Bribery of voters was shamelessly practiced. Ballot boxes had been stolen and unlawfully exposed to manipulation before the count of votes."¹ The machinery of election and nominations was often kept in the hands of reckless and unscrupulous men.²

Des Moines was also receiving a reputation as a wide open town. Much of this publicity came from two unsolved murders which stirred up a controversy over the efficiency and honesty of the police department. Police Judge Mathis said that, "the community is up to its neck in politics and that for the most part the police department is run on a political basis."³ Members of the city council were not infrequently in "profitable contract relations with the public service corporations."⁴ Despite the prohibition

¹Judges of election or agents of "the city hall ring" (in Des Moines) unlawfully admitted to seats beside them were to "kill" ballots unfriendly to the ruling groups by putting additional pencil marks upon them so that they must be thrown out. Returns from the "tough" precinct were, in close elections, held back until the machine could determine how many votes were needed to hold it in power, which number, with a safe margin was suspiciously forthcoming (Hamilton, op. cit., p. 93).

²Chang, op. cit., p. 77.

³Des Moines Daily News, October 17, 1905.

⁴Chang, loc. cit., p. 77.

in the Des Moines Charter against members of the council being interested in city contracts for labor and materials, contractors got themselves elected to that body and either violated or evaded such prohibitions. Employment of contractors who were aldermen by the public service corporations of the city became a scandal.¹ Work done by the contractors for the city, as shown earlier, was badly done, specifications ignored, and inspections of materials and construction reduced to a farce.

The Board of Public Works and its Chairman, William Wise, were completely under the control of the city council. It should be remembered that the Board of Public Works was the executive branch of the Des Moines City government. William Wise, who appeared from all accounts to be an honest man, tried to be a responsible administrator but was slapped down by the city council. He came into conflict with several important contractors over payment for work done for the city that was not up to specifications.² He refused to grant a contract to a favorite contractor of the city council.³ The result of this conflict was that

¹William Fraley, an alderman who was a shrewd contractor, secured the contract for the court house plastering although he was not the lowest bidder. The street car company also gave him considerable business.

William Brereton, another alderman, did all the brick work on the city railway company's buildings and also extensive contracts from Edison Electric Light Company (Des Moines Daily News, January 30, March 17, 19, 1906).

²Des Moines Daily News, January 3, 1906.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, January 21, 1907.

when Mayor George Mattern again nominated Wise to serve as Chairman of the Board of Public Works, the city council refused to confirm him, and he served without pay.¹

Still another incident of corruption and the political power of the public service corporations in Des Moines was related by former Mayor John MacVicar. He used this to illustrate that the magnitude of influence possessed by the corporations had been bad for the city. In this case, the Des Moines Street Railway Company under the leadership of Jefferson S. Polk and general manager, George Hippee, tried to bargain with the city tax assessor, Charles Schramm, telling him that if he did not fix the valuation at a certain point they would take it before the city council. The railway corporation said that it wanted to have a valuation of \$800,000.00 despite the fact that it had over \$1,305,000.00 in issued stocks and its net earnings for 1903 were \$203,924.00. Schramm, however, valued the company at \$850,000.00 which was still low but he stuck by it. The Railway Company appealed to the council which fixed the valuation at \$692,000.00 without any attempt to justify it.²

The railway company was not the only corporation to appeal to the city council and win. Des Moines Edison Light Company was assessed by Schramm at a valuation of \$600,000.00. The city council reduced this to \$525,000.00. Capital City

¹Des Moines Daily News, December 18, 1905.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, May 27, September 12, November 15, and December 13, 1905.

Gas and Light Company was assess \$700,000.00 which was reduced to \$600,000.00 by the council. What this meant for the city was that these three companies were relieved from paying taxes amounting to approximately \$9,000.00 per year for two years.¹ MacVicar likened the city council to a "dog listening to his master's voice."² (the advertising symbol used by RCA)

In order to assure these favorable decisions, these public service corporations sought their accommodations with the city council. There were at least two ways of reaching this relationship. One has already been mentioned and that was the contractor-alderman being awarded contracts by the corporations. The other was through bribery. That this was frequently practiced was revealed by an alderman, John A. Hamery, who had been elected to the city council as an independent in 1906. On two occasions he allowed himself to accept money from a representative of the company for "being fair" to the corporations.³ But Alderman Hamery had

¹Des Moines Daily News, March 17, 1906.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, April 24, 1905.

³George B. Hippee, General Manager of Des Moines Street Railway Corporation, was arrested for personally giving Alderman Hamery \$180.00 in cash for Hamery's promise to vote "right" on the franchise ordinance, and of promising him \$220.00 more upon the delivery of his vote.

A. M. Hadley, manager of Polk's farm, was also arrested for giving Hamery \$100.00, which sum Hamery claimed he told Hadley was due him for having voted "right" on the reduction in the company's assessment last April.

Hippee and Hadley pleaded not guilty and were released under \$1,000.00 bonds (Des Moines Daily News, July 19, 1906).

taken the precaution to have witnesses present who saw the transaction. These facts were laid before the grand and petit juries, but no indictments were made.¹

The public service corporations not only corrupted the city council but also charged excessive rates for their services. Des Moines' citizens paid water rates of twenty cents per 1,000 gallon while Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland paid only three to five cents per 1,000 gallons.² Also pointed out was the fact that these other cities got their water for fire protection from the same company for nothing. Des Moines had to pay \$30,000.00 a year. Des Moines' electric bills were equally disproportionate. Des Moines' citizens paid \$75 to \$95 per month, while other cities like Kansas City got theirs for a maximum of \$65 per month.³ On top of all this Des Moines had a high per capita property tax.

Des Moines, Iowa	\$14.69
Springfield, Massachusetts	14.51
Minneapolis, Minnesota	11.82
Galveston, Texas	11.54
Seattle, Washington	10.91
Indianapolis, Indiana	10.24
St. Paul, Minnesota	9.50
Camden, Ohio	6.34 ⁴

¹The witnesses were John L. Hamilton, Dr. Clarence Weble, and Mack Olsen. However, the Grand Jury voted to ignore the bribery charges (Des Moines Daily News, September 16 and October 30, 1906).

²Des Moines Register and Leader, April 24, 1905.

³Ibid.

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, November 18, 1906.

The possible reasons for this were the city's large bonded indebtedness resulting from the corporations not paying their fair tax burden and municipal inefficiency. The city had also undertaken a large number of capital improvements which was helping to increase the tax burden.

Though Des Moines' government was plagued by problems of wastefulness, inefficiency and political corruption, it was governed no worse than other cities of a similar size. The three daily newspapers, in the same spirit as Lincoln Steffens, tended to concentrate on the faults of the system, hoping to generate increased public interest in seeing their government operate on a higher level of honesty and efficiency. Yet the existing manner of conducting the city's business did have its supporters, not only the public service corporation, contractors and politicians but also the groups of people who had learned to live with and depend upon this system of government to protect their particular customs. Nevertheless, the exposure of municipal corruption led certain members of the business and professional community to demand a government more responsive to their needs and conforming to their standards of morality.

Chapter 3

The Reform Movement

Who were the potential leaders of municipal reform in Des Moines? From what socio-economic groups was leadership most likely to come? This is a subject that has long engaged the attention of historians of progressivism. Alfred Chandler saw the progressive leader as a middle-class professional man, "managing an older, established business rather than an aggressive entrepreneur actively operating a new and growing business concern."¹ George Mowry and Richard Hofstadter also found a middle-class consisting of businessmen, wealthy farmers, and professional people leading the reform movement. However, Hofstadter saw these middle-class reformers anxious about their new status in the new industrialized America. Mowry, on the other hand, saw the progressive leader as motivated as much from psychological, ideological and moral reasons as from economic consideration.² Samuel

¹Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "The Origins of Progressive Leadership," Progressivism--The Critical Issues, ed. David M. Kennedy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 76.

²George E. Mowry, "The California Progressive and His Rationale: A Study in Middle Class Politics," Kennedy, Ibid., p. 65.

Hays, on the other hand, saw the upper-class, along with the business and professional classes which were self-confident and successful, and not anxious dominating municipal reform movements. These reformers were dissatisfied with the existing system of municipal government. They objected to the structure of government which enabled local and peculiar interests to dominate. The movement for reform in municipal government, therefore, constituted an attempt by upper-class professionals and business groups to take formal political power from the previously dominant lower and middle-class elements so that they might advance their own conceptions of desirable public policy. These two groups came from entirely different urban worlds, and the political system fashioned by one was no longer acceptable to the other.¹ The leaders of the Des Moines Plan were generally the type of individuals Hays was describing.

The municipal charter that was going to be known as the "Des Moines Plan" of city government was not the outcome of a crisis, or the issue of a sporadic reform movement, but was rather the direct result of the businessmen of Des Moines agitating for application of business methods and a greater voice in the government of the city. The commission government

¹Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Progressivism--The Critical Issues, ed. David M. Kennedy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), pp. 94-95.

was presented as an attempt to check corruption and promote efficiency.¹

Yet, why did the reform movement start in 1905?

Des Moines was poorly governed, but at least according to the Brooklyn (Iowa) Chronicle, it was not

any worse than the average city of its size or that its city government is not more corrupt than other places... The actual fact seems to be that the Des Moines dailies, which regularly exploited the crimes of the city in huge headlines of flaming red, were largely responsible for the ill reputation of the capitol (sic) city of Iowa.²

The first reason for the reform movement beginning was the city's inefficiency and corruption; though an old problem, there was an increasing demand on the part of the upper-classes

¹The "Des Moines Plan" was not the first attempt at such a municipal reform. The interest taken by Des Moines in the winter of 1880 in the "Glasgow plan" foreshadowed the coming events of 1907. Several hundred leading citizens of Des Moines united in a petition to the General Assembly asking that the Glasgow bill, introduced by General Glasgow of Burlington reducing the number of members of the city council to three in cities of the first class and abolishing certain city offices entirely, be made law. However, the Register which conceded the need for reform, doubted the wisdom of the then radical nature of such a government. The bill failed to pass but it shows that the people were starting to think of some kind of change a quarter of a century before 1907 (Johnson Brigham, History of Des Moines and Polk County Iowa, (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1911), p. 288/.

²Reprinted in Des Moines Register and Leader, October 22, 1905.

in Des Moines for honest and efficient government.¹ A second reason was that some of the public service corporations' franchises were coming up for renewal within the next five years and a change in government could be seen as either an attempt to get the public service corporations out of government or as a plot on the part of these corporations to reduce the size of the government to something that they could manipulate easier. A third reason was that the daily newspapers saw Des Moines slowing in its growth. Civic leaders placed great importance upon population growth of the city of Des Moines. The Daily News believed that if the people of Des Moines used only Des Moines made goods the next census would show the city with a population of 100,000.² The city also had an organization called "The 150,000 Club." Its purpose was to make Des Moines a city of 150,000 by 1920. Yet the Register and Leader noted in 1906 that Des Moines' population growth had decreased from 9,858 to 1899 to an increase of just 1,177 in 1906.³ The

¹Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, May 14, July 13, and August 24, 1905; Article on Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, citizens who were attempting to get good government. At the end of the article was the caption "Honest government pays" (Des Moines Daily News, October 4, 1905); Also a new weekly newspaper, the Des Moines Weekly Globe, was started in 1905. Its banner read, "Independent Republican in Politics; Liberal in Religious Views; Advocating Business Methods in City, State and Government Administrations."

²Editorial, Des Moines Daily News, July 2, 1905.

³Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, November 28, 1906.

later said, "The first step toward attracting capital (needed for the growth of factories and increased population) will be a broader and better city government."¹ The last reason why reform was likely in 1905, was the creation of the Des Moines Commercial Club by the merger of several businessmen's clubs into one during January and February of 1905. As will be shown, the Commercial Club played a leading part in getting the commission form of government passed in Des Moines.²

Harvey Ingham, editor of the Des Moines Register and Leader and a man with a great deal of influence in the city because of this editorship, along with others became interested in Galveston's Commission form of government. This interest was reaching a peak in October of 1905. On October 5, 1905, the Commercial Club held its fall meeting. The comments featured in the paper the next day showed a strong sentiment against the existing city government. Quoted along with others as being opposed to the current city government was James G. Berryhill, a prominent Des Moines lawyer and a former defeated Congressional candidate. He complained that there was

no concentration, no system, no one on whom responsibility can be fixed and no centralized obligation in the city government. I believe it would be better if we should change the system. Unless conditions are

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, September 18, November 29, and December 3, 1906; See also, Hays, op. cit., p. 91

²Hays, op. cit., p. 92; See also, John J. Hamilton, The Dethronement of the City Boss (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1910), p. 9.

different in the immediate future, I would favor government by appointive power. The merchants, not the saloon keepers,¹ should dominate in the city's affairs.

Berryhill felt, as did many of the people who were going to support the reform movement, that the mayor-council form of government was controlled by groups of people of whom he had little understanding. This control made the government less responsive to the will of the merchants and members of the upper-class who Berryhill felt should control the government and rule with a noblesse oblige attitude toward the rest of the city.

On October 17th, Berryhill left on a business trip to Galveston, Texas, a city which he had visited several times before during 1905. However, on this trip, he was requested by Harvey Ingham to gather as much as he could on the Galveston Plan and to present this plan to the citizens of Des Moines on his return.

While Berryhill was in Galveston, the Register and Leader was laying the groundwork for a change in the city's government. Editorials such as the following were typical of the type that Ingham's newspapers featured during Berryhill's trip:

His [Berryhill] findings there [Galveston] will be of extreme importance and will undoubtedly have much to do with the formulation of the requests which will probably be made of the General Assembly.... The commission which

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, October 6, 1905;
See also, Des Moines Daily News, October 6, 1905.

will be suggested to the state legislature is one elected by the people and not appointed by the governor.¹

When Berryhill returned on October 27th, he promised to make his findings public. The Register and Leader in mentioning Berryhill's return reported that great interest was being shown in Des Moines in the Galveston Plan.² On the following day, the president of the Commercial Club announced that it would enter politics with the view of securing men in office satisfactory to the business interests of the city.³

As he had promised, Berryhill made his findings public in a speech to the Commercial Club on the evening of November 17, 1905. These Des Moines businessmen were impressed by Berryhill's findings that the commission form of government used business methods in the management of municipal affairs and centered responsibility in a strong five man council, and tended to cut down on waste and corruption in the city government.⁴ Berryhill saw the

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, October 24, 28, and 29, 1905; See also, Des Moines Daily News, October 25, 1905.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, October 28, 1905.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, October 29, 1905.

⁴Berryhill pointed out that Galveston had had no special assessment the last year while Des Moines in the year ending in 1904 had special assessments of \$309,524.93. Taxes were higher in Des Moines, yet Galveston had started with a debt of 3.1 million dollars. Also they were forced to repave the entire business portion of the city, to rebuild the city hall and other city property /Des Moines Register and Leader, December 3, 1905; See also, Tso Sheun Chang, History and Analysis of the Commission and City Manager Plans of Municipal

plan as a restoration of the old New England town meeting with adaptation to the twentieth century.¹ Berryhill's "earnest appeal for early but deliberate action aroused interest and enthusiasm" among the businessmen.² A committee was appointed at this meeting to draw up a commission plan for Des Moines. The plan written by this committee was not significantly different from the aforementioned Galveston Plan.³ For his efforts the Register and Leader credited Berryhill as being the father of the Galveston System for Des Moines.⁴

Government in the United States, University of Iowa Monographs studies in the Social Sciences, VI (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1918), p. 78; Editorial Des Moines Register and Leader, November 18, 1907.

¹Chang, op. cit., p. 79.

²James G. Berryhill divided the functions of a municipal government into two. The first was the business function--collection and disbursement of public moneys, the making provisions for contracts for the supply of water, light, power and heat, adequate transportation, the building of sewers, sidewalks, grading and paving of streets and alleys, management of property, and the many provisions for health and comfort of its citizens. The second function was the enforcement of law and city regulation, the control of police authority and the suppression and regulation of vice and crime. Berryhill argued that the commission government could bring business methods to the first and while doing this it would eventually take care of the second [James G. Berryhill, "The Des Moines Plan of Municipal Government," (paper read at the Iowa Bar Association Meeting, July 9, 1908, Waterloo, Iowa)].

³Ibid., p. 3.

⁴The Des Moines Register and Leader, January 6, 1906. However, Benjamin F. Shambaugh points out that one of the earliest groups in Iowa advocating commission government in Iowa cities was the Iowa State Bar Association in 1903. Charles W. Johnston and Freeman R. Conaway are credited with "definite utterances" in approval of the commission government. Also, Charles A. Clark of Cedar Rapids, must

About two weeks later on December 4th, the Commercial Club endorsed the commission plan because it was more economical and businesslike. This action was taken with the support of Henry Wallace, editor of Wallace Farmer; Lafayette Young of the Capitol; and William G. Hale of the Daily News.¹ Harvey Ingham said he did not think there would be any difficulty in securing favorable legislation in the General Assembly to permit Des Moines to adopt this plan. He also said he was inclined to think the people of Des Moines were sufficiently aroused to support it.² Ingham was wrong both about the public and the Legislature. The Legislature was not going to act on the plan in 1906 because of opposition to it and the possibility of other reform measures being taken instead. Public support was not aroused enough to support this or any other reform plans that were being

be accorded the distinction of having formulated in a conclusive manner a statement of the nature and extent of the break-down of the forms of charter under which the cities of Iowa were operating and of the general character of the new charters which must be substituted for the old /Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Commission Government--The Des Moines Plan (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1912), p. 10, 35-36; See also, Des Moines Daily Capitol, June 16, 1907; Des Moines Register and Leader, June 23, 1907; and Chang, op. cit., p. 78/.

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, December 5, 1905; See also, Hamilton, op. cit., p. 107.

The following week the News also came out in favor of the Galveston Plan, publishing on December 12th a glowing report of the operations of the commission government filed by its representatives E. R. Cheesborough, Des Moines Daily News, December 12, 1905.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, December 5, 1905.

proposed at that time.¹ In addition the people's attention was being distracted by the city, state, and national elections of 1906.

The municipal election of 1906 took on special significance because it reflected the fact that the citizens of Des Moines, despite their lack of support for municipal reform measures in the Legislature, were becoming increasingly aware of the need to reform their inefficient government. Reform of the city government was promised by all the candidates. The newspapers were printing columns of matter about it. Reform tickets such as the Citizens Ticket and the citizens anti-graft committee ticket were put forward.² One of the more interesting groups was the Scratcher's organization.

The Scratchers' Clubs resulted from a meeting of twenty-five young businessmen held on March 6, 1906, and were soon established in every ward of the city.³ Edward

¹Such as the Bremner plan that a city council of at least twenty-nine members, one from each precinct in the lower house and probably a dozen at large in the upper house, should be elected once every two years. All laws and ordinances needed were to be passed during a two to three week period. Then the council would adjourn, not to be called back into session by anyone, and turn the city over to the officers elected to carry out their executive functions. This was proposed by Bremner, a candidate for city council (Des Moines Daily Capitol, January 11, 1906).

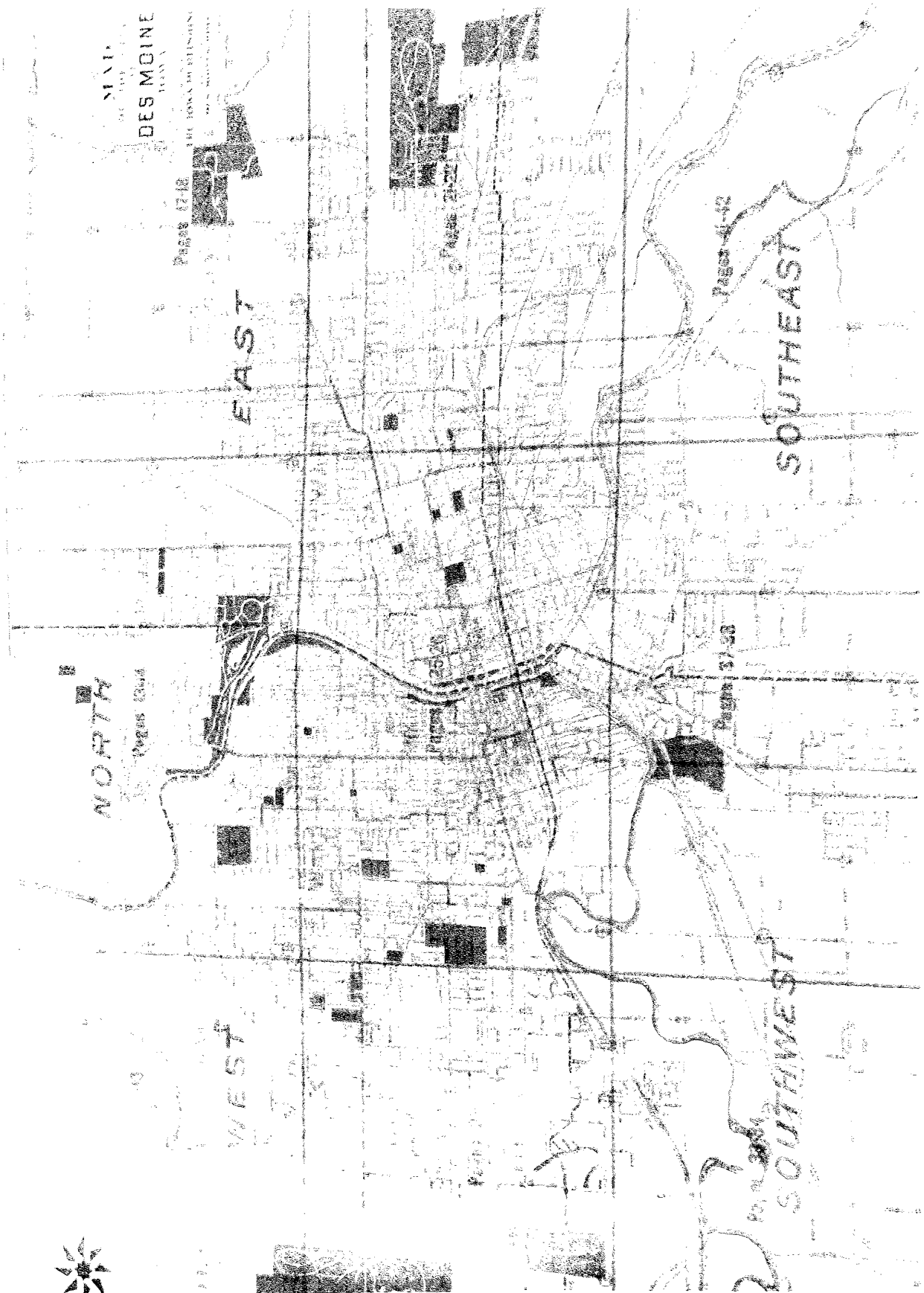
²Des Moines Daily News, January 6 and March 13, 1906.

³The movement of the Scratchers began in the second ward. The organization went under different names--in one ward they were called the Boxers.

Jones, Secretary and Treasurer of Jones Piano Company, was elected president at this meeting. The organization grew out of the dissatisfaction with the nominations for aldermen made by the Republicans at their primaries. These young men called themselves scratchers because they pledged themselves to scratch the name of every candidate for the city council who had contracts or did work for the local street railway, gas, and other public utility corporations. As part of their campaign, they said that the organization would not, if possible, put forth an entirely new ticket but select aldermen on both Republican and Democratic tickets.¹

Despite the efforts of the Scratchers and the Democrats who supported the Scratchers Ticket, the city council remained under the control of the contractors. The city council elected in March, 1906, consisted of the following members. (For a map of the city, see page 39) From the first ward John L. Hamery, the Scratcher's Ticket candidate and a graduate of the Drake Law School, was elected. He was a self-made man who had worked his way through Drake University by peddling milk in University Place. Yet he did not engage in law but in the milk business which he had carried on as a student. He was also a dealer in livestock. Later in life he built houses and

¹Des Moines Daily News, March 6, 7, 18, and April 9, 1906; See also, Des Moines Democratic Chronicle, March 9, 1906; and Plain Talk, March 10, 1906.

Map of Des Moines¹

¹M. Huebinger, Map of the City of Des Moines
(Des Moines: The Iowa Publishing Co., 1909), pp. 1-2.

sold them, and he soon became the owner of some of the best residences in the northwest part of the city. The second ward had Daniel O'Grady, another member of the Scratcher's Ticket as well as a leader in the labor unions, as its councilman. O'Grady had worked his way up from a pick swinger in the mines. The News, however, said that he was closer to being a contractor than any of the Scratcher's Ticket men elected. The reason for this observation was because he was frequently an inspector of contract work for the city and acted as foreman on jobs of large contractors. The third ward was represented by Jerry Donovan, a member of the regular Republican Ticket. He was a cigar dealer and according to the News a close friend of O'Grady. The fourth ward councilman was Ream Johnson, a regular Republican. He was a janitor at the Court House.

On the East side of the river, the fifth ward councilman was C. C. Christy, a regular Republican and a house builder. Christy lived on the East side of the river. He was classified as an independent thinker, but he usually lined up with the other contractors. The sixth ward was represented by John Staley, another regular Republican. Staley was editor of the Iowa Unionist, a labor union paper. Finally in the seventh ward, William Fraley, a regular Republican and a contractor, was elected to the city council. According to the News, he was the leader of the council.

Alderman at large for West Des Moines was Eugene Waterbury, a Scratcher candidate and one of the original rough riders and personal friend of Theodore Roosevelt. He was also president of the Waterbury Chemical Company. Along with Hamery, he was expected to be a real fighter against graft and corruption. W. H. Brereton, a regular Republican, was elected alderman at large for East Des Moines. As a brick contractor, he had received many city contracts.¹

The six regular Republican Ticket members were referred to as the "Big Six." The three Scratcher members were referred to as the "Little Three." The city council was therefore under the control of the same elements that had held power for they had the votes to make appropriations, select committees, etc.²

During the following weeks it became evident that the way of conducting the city's business had not changed, even with three Scratcher aldermen on the city council. Just two days after the council was sworn in, the city assessor, Charles Schramm, reported to the city council an additional assessment of the four public service corporations amounting to \$786,000.00 on corporation stock and new improvements made during the year. The corporations appealed to the city council which responded favorably by reducing the City

¹Des Moines Daily News, April 2, 1906.

²Ibid.

Railway Company's assessment from \$615,000.00 to \$125,000.00 and the Gas Company's assessment from \$86,000.00 to \$68,360.00. The Water and Electric Companies made no complaint. These reductions were accomplished by a six to three vote.¹

In the meantime, scandals of illegal voting in the March city council election filled the front pages of the three daily newspapers along with stories of deals made by the police to let prostitutes practice in any area of the city for payment of a monthly fine.² In addition there were stories of crusades against the gamblers that were so common in Des Moines and usually so lacking in push and determination that they hardly attracted the public attention.³

The reformers, further disillusioned with the mayor-council form of government by these actions of the new council, decided to renew their drive to change the government to the commission form. The Register and Leader in July, 1906, promised that, "nine-tenths of the problems that confront cities like Des Moines would disappear under an administration such as Houston has."⁴ The reformers held meetings, made speeches and ran stories on the benefits of living under a commission government as well as pointing out the faults

¹Des Moines Daily News, April 4, 1906.

²Des Moines Daily News, May 28, 1906.

³Editorial, Des Moines Daily News, June 9, 1906.

⁴Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, July 4, and July 18, 1906; See also, Des Moines Daily Capitol, September 12, 1906.

of the current government of the city. These actions while creating an interest on the part of many citizens to bring about some change in the government, were also creating a group of people that was strongly opposed not only to the idea of a commission government but also were suspicious of the people that were proposing this change.

Chapter 4

The Opposition

Opposition to the commission form of government came from various elements of the city. One such group, the subject of repeated attacks by the reformers, was the "city hall gang." The "gang", as the reformers called them, consisted of most of the elective officials in the city's government centering around the city council and some of their appointees. The reason for their opposition was that they feared not only the loss of their city jobs, but also their positions as leaders in their respective wards.¹

The city hall politicians being predominately Republican had two organizations that represented their views. One was called "The Active Republican Organization of the County of Polk," formed on December 23, 1906, and led by Robert O'Callagan.² The primary purpose of this organization was to fight the commission plan. Its secret goals and plans

¹Des Moines Daily News, December 9, 1905; See also, Samuel P. Hayes, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Progressivism--The Critical Issues, ed. David M. Kennedy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 95; Des Moines Register and Leader, December 17, 1905; Des Moines Daily Capitol, January 23, 1906.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, December 23, 1906.

were revealed to the Register and Leader by an informer.

They were as follows:

1. To protect the present system of city government.
2. To maintain a lobby during the general assembly.
3. To thwart every action for a reform in the administration.
4. To insist that the existing city council should control all appointments.
5. The lobby committee was to be called the Judiciary Board.¹

There was a close connection between this "Tammany" organization, as the Register and Leader called it, and city hall as a number of members of the city government were active in the organization.² The other organization was the Polk County Republican Club. The Club, however, took a less active part in the opposition to the Des Moines Plan of Commission Government than the Active Republican Organization.³ This in spite of the fact that again many of the members of this Club were members of the city administration.⁴

The largest single Des Moines group opposed to the idea of a commission government was organized labor though by no means were they all of one mind on this point. Organized labor had 5,000 members in Des Moines; the largest

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, January 9, 1907.

²Ibid.

³That is to say they were more content to pass resolutions condemning various features of the Des Moines Plan (Des Moines Daily News, January 27, 1906).

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, January 30, 1906.

union was that of the miners. There were also other unions such as the teamsters, bricklayers, carpenters and joiners. Labor was opposed to the commission form of government for several reasons. Labor and the businessmen who were members of the reform groups in Des Moines had been opposed to each other.¹ Secondly, labor was opposed to the plan primarily because they had no voice in preparing it, and they were afraid that business would control and dominate the commission government.² Labor also feared that the adoption of such a measure would abridge the rights of the people, because if adopted many of the officials formerly chosen by the people would be appointed by the commission. Further, from the labor point of view, adoption of the commission form of government would mean that portions of the city represented by ward aldermen would have no direct representation and all the aldermen or a majority could come from a particular section of town.³ Lastly, labor did not like the idea of so much power being given to the city council

¹J. Joseph Huthmacker found that labor tended to support the progressive's movement in the urban centers of the East. However, I found that in the case of Des Moines, labor was strongly opposed to at least this reform measure. /J. Joseph Huthmacker, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," Progressivism--The Critical Issues, ed. David M. Kennedy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 79; See also, Mary Witaker, "The Politics of Urban Government Reform," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Iowa State University of Science and Technology, 1969), p. 57.

²Iowa Unionist, March 22, 1907.

³Iowa Unionist, April 12, 1907.

which could be controlled by morally weak men or some enemy of labor.¹

A third group that opposed the commission form of government was the Socialists, who though few in number waged a strong campaign of opposition in the Iowa Unionist against this form of government.² They, like labor, opposed the planned government because they felt that it was in the interest of the corporate and wealthy segment of society and against the laboring man. They argued this because the major organization pushing the commission government was the Commercial Club. They also objected to the plan because it made no provision for municipal ownership of the street railway or water company, a major goal of the Socialists.³

Another opposition group was the Democratic Party. However, its opposition was less than united and was soon to disappear. The News quoted Police Judge Mathis, a leading Democrat, as saying that, "The Commission system has never been favored by more than a few Democrats.... A commission form of government is not in accordance with the time honored principles of our party. We believe in keeping the government close to the people."⁴ In general, the Democrats were saying that a city should have no office

¹Iowa Unionist, April 5 and May 10, 1907.

²Iowa Unionist, March 29, 1907; See also, Des Moines Register and Leader, January 29, 1906.

³Des Moines Daily Capitol, March 11, 1907.

⁴Des Moines Daily News, January 29, 1906.

not elected by the people, hence they would not approve a commission which had the power to appoint city officials.¹ Yet, after the mass meeting of January 24, 1906, held to quiet some of the objections to the commission system by making changes in the proposed bill, the Democratic Chronicle wrote that "we believe...the plan will result in a better government for the city than the method now in vogue."²

Other minor groups also opposed the Des Moines Plan. The Logan Improvement Association, an East Side organization, was opposed to the plan because it was possible for all the commissioners to be elected from the West side.³ The reformers also charged that the saloon interest, gamblers, and prostitutes who had learned to live with the existing city government opposed the change. An example of this accomodation between the saloon interest and the city government was featured in the News. The article stated that there were at least five gambling houses in operation in the city, and, "if the mayor and chief of police do not know about them, they are derelect in their duty. If they do know about them, then they are pretending to be something that they are not."⁴

¹Des Moines Democratic Chronicle, January 26, 1906.

²Des Moines Democratic Chronicle, February 2, 1906; See also, Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, January 28, 1906.

³Des Moines Daily News, January 27, 1906.

⁴Des Moines Daily News, February 20, 1905.

More opposition groups may have existed but men who opposed the commission kept their opinion out of the newspapers, fearing that their opposition might be construed to mean that they opposed reform in the city government.¹ Also, the role of the individual public service corporations is somewhat cloudy. They played a significant role in the opposition, such as starting a new newspaper in Des Moines to fight the plan. Their specific objections to the Des Moines Plan, however, could not be found. In fact only one letter addressed to the News contained an opinion of a corporation. The letter was from A. P. Chamberlain, lawyer for the Interurban Railway Company, saying that his corporation favored the commission bill.² In contrast, the actions of the street car companies and other public service corporations showed that up until two days before the election they opposed the adoption of the Des Moines Plan.³

In addition to their specific objections, the opponents had general objections to the Des Moines Plan. First of all, they regarded the commission form of government as a radical departure from the fundamental form of American government. The commission government combined appropriating and spending powers in a single body in violation of

¹Des Moines Daily News, January 30, 1906.

²Des Moines Daily News, February 4, 1906.

³See Chapter 6.

the true principle of the separation of these jurisdictions. Secondly, the system involved too great a concentration of power in placing the executive, legislative and judicial power in a single body.¹ Professor Frank I. Herriott of Drake University, a political scientist, speaking in opposition to the Des Moines Plan, contended that "we do not and cannot change human nature, we cannot obliterate greed and abolish passion and prejudice by giving officers more power and entrenching them in power."² The answer of the reformers to these objections was simply, "where responsibility rests there must be power."³

Generally, the opposition saw only one way to achieve better government and that was through an increased public interest in government.⁴ They conceded that for a brief period of time the plan might succeed in attracting men of high ability because "in the first flush of the revival of civic virtue incident to such a radical change we should compel, by draft as it were, prominent and successful men

¹Edwin M. Bacon and Morrill Wyman, Direct Elections and Law-Making by Popular Vote (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912), p. 113; See also, E. Clyde Robbins, ed., Commission Plan of Municipal Government, (Minneapolis: H. W. Wilson Company, 1909), p. 143; James G. Berryhill, "The Des Moines Plan of Municipal Government," (paper read at the Iowa Bar Association Meeting, July 9, 1908, Waterloo, Iowa), p. 11.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, January 24, 1906.

³Plain Talk, January 20, and February 16, 1907.

⁴Des Moines Democratic Chronicle, November 24, 1905.

to take the office."¹ However, they said that such a condition would not last, and as soon as the public fervor declined the city government would become progressively worse.

So vocal was the opposition to the proposed change of government that a mass meeting called by the Commercial Club was held on January 24, 1906, to try and reconcile the objections before submitting the plan to the thirty-first General Assembly. At this meeting the Democrats, led by W. W. Witman and A. K. Stewart, were able to get several amendments added that became permanent features of the Des Moines Plan. The first amendment was that every ordinance granting a franchise be submitted to a referendum by the people. The second required the use of competitive exams to determine appointive positions. Thirdly, the commission should print a monthly pamphlet of expenses. Finally, the commission should be elected on a non-partisan basis.²

These amendments removed some of the more serious objections held not only by the Democrats but also by the Socialists.³ The Democrats' organization came out and endorsed the plan despite the fact that they wanted further changes.⁴ They did so for one reason--the non-partisan

¹Plain Talk, January 26, 1907.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, January 25, 1906.

³Des Moines Democratic Chronicle, February 9, 1906.

⁴Des Moines Democratic Chronicle, January 26, 1906.

feature of the plan which held up the possibility of Democrats securing office under its operation.¹ The Register and Leader, the News, and the Polk County Republicans objected to the non-partisan amendment but for different reasons. The Register and Leader wrote:

Fear was expressed yesterday that the legislature might rule out the section which was presented by A. K. Stewart as an amendment, contemplating establishing the non-partisan feature of the system. From the fact that the legislature is a partisan body and the clause is thoroughly a democratic one, introduced by a Democrat it may be singled out for defeat.²

A few days later the Register and Leader feared that the legislature might reject the whole plan as being "too many radical changes in one bill at one time."³ The Polk County Republican Club objected to the non-partisan amendment because it was a Democratic proposal.⁴ Yet despite these objections the non-partisan amendment with the other three became part of the Des Moines Plan. The reformers now felt ready to take their plan to the Iowa State General Assembly where they hoped it would meet with approval.

¹Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, January 28, 1906.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, January 26, 1906; See also, Des Moines Daily News, January 27, 1906.

³Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, January 29, 1906.

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, January 30, 1906.

Chapter 5

The Des Moines Plan in the Iowa State General Assembly

The reformers, feeling that opposition had been calmed and the public spirit sufficiently aroused by the January mass meeting, submitted the commission bill to the thirty-first General Assembly on January 26, 1906. The Bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Cassius Dowell of Des Moines, where it was given Senate File Number 101, read twice and referred to the committee on Cities and Towns.¹ In the House, the Bill was introduced by Representative Horace Teachout of Des Moines and given House File Number 127; again read twice and referred to the committee on Municipal Corporations.²

The reformers were confident of success, believing that there existed in the Senate a strong sentiment in favor of passage of a law similar to the Des Moines Plan.³ The three Des Moines dailies urged the legislators to act quickly because the city was facing an election that year, and they

¹Journal of the Senate, 31st General Assembly of the State of Iowa, January 26, 1906, p. 145.

²Journal of the House, 31st General Assembly of the State of Iowa, January 26, 1906.

³Des Moines Daily News, January 26, 1906.

wanted to avoid having a meaningless one.¹ Yet the Senate was not going to be rushed. Senator Courtright of Waterloo, chairman of the sub-committee studying the Galveston Plan, said, "I shall not take up the Galveston Bill (Senate File 101) in sub-committee until all interests in Des Moines have had an opportunity to be heard on the measure."²

The legislative hearings soon began to reveal that the people of Des Moines remained divided on the question. The reason for this was that the reformers, despite their so called mass meeting, had failed to quiet the opposition who were vocal in their cry against undertaking such a radical experiment. Some of the legislators, moreover, regarded the scheme as decidedly visionary and impracticable. Also there was a tendency on the part of the legislators to be opposed to legislation which threatened the existence of a political machine.³ So the plan as both the Senate and House committees recommended was "indefinitely postponed."⁴ Another possible explanation for the cursory

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, January 21, 1906.

²Des Moines Daily News, January 31, 1906.

³Benjamin Shambaugh, Commission Government--The Des Moines Plan (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1912), p. 11; See also, James G. Berryhill, "The Des Moines Plan of Municipal Government," (paper read at the Iowa Bar Association Meeting, July 9, 1908, Waterloo, Iowa), p. 106; John J. Hamilton, The Dethronement of the City Boss (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1910), p. 30.

⁴Journal of the Senate, 31st General Assembly of the State of Iowa, February 21, 1906, p. 454; and Journal of the House, 31st General Assembly of the State of Iowa, February 23, 1906, p. 416.

treatment that the plan received by the legislature in 1906 was the lack of preparation by the reformers. The push for the new government had started just three months earlier and the legislature may have felt that the adoption of a new type of government was not something done in the heat of the moment. However, the backers of this bill were not about to let it die as a few legislators had hoped they would.

The reformers, especially the three daily newspapers and Berryhill, started their second attempt late in the summer of 1906, to get the citizens of Des Moines to back the proposed plan of commission government. Berryhill made speeches, such as his address in October to the Professional Women's League, advocating the passage of the Des Moines Plan by the up-coming General Assembly.¹ The three newspapers did their part by writing editorials and running articles on the Galveston Plan. They continued their exposure of corporate manipulation of city affairs and the looting of the public treasury by the politicians and their allies.² The papers also reminded the people of Des Moines that growth of the city's population accompanied good government. Their favorite example of this was the growth of the city of Indianapolis after 1885, when it had inaugurated a strong

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, October 9, 1906.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, September 20, December 16, 23, and 1906.

mayor government, which was called the Indianapolis Plan of Government. They said that Des Moines in 1906 was the size that Indianapolis was in 1885, and that therefore Des Moines would need a strong government in order to obtain the same level of growth.¹ The proposed commission plan was thus seen as accomplishing two purposes. First, it would improve local government. Second, the plan would give greater publicity to the city, thereby promoting its growth. The reformers were also aided by the appearance of an article published in McClure's in October, 1906. The article, written by George Kibbe Turner, describing the city government of Galveston was widely read provoking much discussion in Des Moines.

The pressure for some kind of reform in the city government continued to mount through the winter of 1906. Proposed reforms came from every part of the city including the mayor and city council. These proposals made by the city officials were found to be only partial reform measures of a particular branch of the city's government. The city council proposed that it be given more power to make it responsible for the management of the city. Mayor Mattern advocated giving the mayor power to make his own appointments without confirmation by the council. City Engineer Dobson was in favor of legislation which would give condemning power to that department which would mean that the city

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, December 3, 1906; See also, Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, September 15, 1906.

engineer would inspect paving and other public improvements and if they did not meet standards he could condemn them.¹ So many of these "how-not-to-do-it reforms" as the Register and Leader called them were being put forth by the city officials that the Register and Leader felt that they were trying to "muddle public thought and prevent any change in the public graft and mismanagement that now prevails."²

In addition to the reforms put forth by city officials, the supporters of the reform movement themselves were divided on the point of how best to reform the city government. The greater part of the reformers were divided into two groups. The majority supported the Galveston Plan with its strong five man council. Other groups supported a plan sponsored by State Senator Cassius Dowell. This was known as the Dowell Plan or better known as the above-mentioned Indianapolis Plan.³ Under this plan the mayor's power and salary were greatly increased. He was given appointive power without city council confirmation of the city engineer, city street commissioner, police judge, city physician and members of the Board of Public Works. The mayor sat on the Board of Public Works and exercised the right of veto over all actions taken by that board. The city council was elected at large and exercised only legislative

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, November 23, and December 16, 1906.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, December 9 and 16, 1906.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, January 15, 1907.

and appropriation functions.¹ The mayor did not serve on the city council. The idea behind this plan was to place most of the city's administrative powers in the hands of one man responsible to the whole city instead of in the hands of a number of men representing sections. Governor Albert B. Cummins supported this plan in his state of the state address to the thirty-second General Assembly:

My own view is that the representative form of government ought to be preserved. Aldermen should be elected at large, and the city council confined strictly to legislative duties. Power should be concentrated in the mayor and he should be the responsible administrative head of city affairs. He should appoint the officers who are to administer the law. The protection of civil service should be extended.

The compensation of the mayor should be sufficient to call men of the best type and strongest character to the office, and the term be made long enough to enable him to accomplish something. If, however, the term be lengthened, it should be accompanied with the power on the part of the people to remove him from office through an election called for that purpose upon proper petition.²

The Indianapolis Plan started to attract a great deal of support. A committee, sent to Indianapolis to make a careful investigation of the plan, reported favorably on the plan.³ To determine the state of public sentiment a

¹In the Dowell-Civic League Plan the aldermen were to be elected by wards (Des Moines Register and Leader, January 26, 1907; See also, Des Moines Daily Capitol, January 8, 1907; Des Moines Register and Leader, January 16, 1907.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, January 15, 1907.

³Tso Shuen Chang, History and Analysis of the Commission and City Manager Plans of Municipal Government in the

newspaper ballot was taken by the Des Moines Daily Capitol. The referendum taken by the paper showed a majority favoring a change of government to the Galveston Plan. However, the results of the poll were suspiciously one sided with 1,094 favoring a change and only twenty-three opposed. (See Appendix I)

In the meantime, John J. Hamilton, former editor of the News, close friend of John MacVicar, and a strong supporter of the Galveston Plan, proposed a mass jury meeting to settle the issue of which plan, either the Galveston or Indianapolis, the reformers should support before the thirty-second General Assembly. This proposal was well received and the meeting was set for January 31st, at the Shrine Temple. The mass meeting was to consist of a 300 man "jury" which was to be a cross section of the citizens of Des Moines selected by a committee from the Commercial Club.¹ This "jury" was to vote on which plan they favored after a debate between James G. Berryhill, for the Galveston Plan, and Walter H. Bailey, for the Indianapolis Plan.

An examination of the names, addresses and occupations of the jurors as listed in the Des Moines City Directory raises doubts about the representative character

United States, University of Iowa Monographs, studies in the Social Sciences, VI (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1918), p. 80.

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, January 7, 1907.

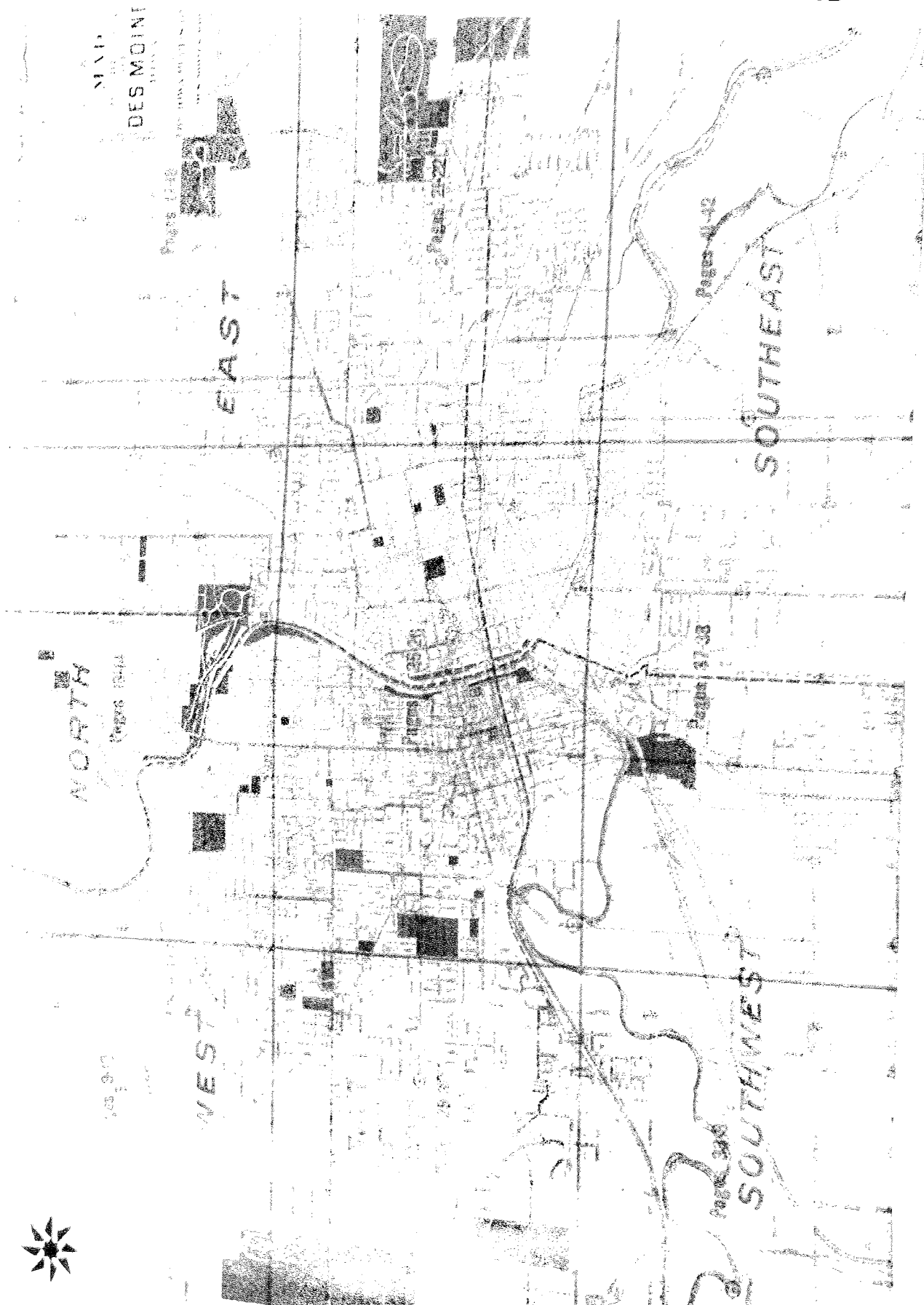
of the jury.¹ The West side of Des Moines was to have 253 members while the East side had only twenty-eight members.² (See map page 61) The first ward had over one-third of the total representation with 120 proposed jurors, yet the seventh ward had no representation among the located jurors. Even more interesting is the fact that Harvey Inghams' home precinct, the second precinct of the first ward, and the neighboring third precinct made up exactly one-third of the chosen jury. The next closest precinct as far as number of jurors was the fourth precinct of the third ward with thirty-three members. The only other precinct with more than fifteen members on the jury was the second precinct of the second ward. In other words, it appeared that the meeting was "packed" in favor of those who lived on the West side of the river and were either business or professional men.

After the Berryhill-Bailey debate, the jury voted 106 to twenty-seven in favor of supporting the Galveston Plan.³ A committee to draw up a bill along the Galveston line was immediately appointed. It consisted of James G. Berryhill; I. M. Earle, general counsel of the Bankers Life

¹Des Moines City Directory, (Des Moines: R. L. Polk, 1907).

²Five people had no occupation and one died on February 20, 1907, with no occupation listed. Twenty-three people could not be located.

³Only about half of the 300 people selected to be on the jury made it to this meeting (Chang, op. cit., p. 80).

Map of Des Moines¹

¹M. Huebinger, Map of the City of Des Moines
 (Des Moines: The Iowa Publishing Co., 1909), pp. 1-2.

Association and an early supporter of the commission government proposal; John Reed, attorney for the Des Moines Street Car Company; W. H. Bailey, a prominent lawyer; and S. B. Allen, also a prominent lawyer.¹ This meeting had its desired effect in that it united almost all of the reformers behind one plan. Senator Dowell dropped his plan about a week later.² In addition, the Civic League stopped its support of the Indianapolis Plan. Also, at this meeting the phrase "Des Moines Plan" became popular and was associated with the bill.³

The committee appointed to draw up the plan quickly finished its work. The new "Des Moines Plan" showed the effect of the changes proposed by the opposition to the Galveston Plan, and the effect of revelations about corruption in the Des Moines city government. Its main features were that the city's government would be a five man commission (council) elected at large on a non-partisan ticket. Any citizen who could secure the signatures of twenty-five voters vouching for his character would become a candidate for mayor or commissioner. From this field the people of the city would choose their candidates to run for office in a primary election. The two candidates receiving the highest vote became the candidates for mayor

¹Berryhill, op. cit., p. 5.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, February 6, 1907.

³Brigham Johnson, History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1911), p. 397.

in the final election. The next eight highest would run for commissioner. Candidates must make a public statement of their campaign expenses. The plan also included provisions that each commissioner would be the head of a particular city department; all employees would be chosen by the merit system; any elected official, which meant only the five commissioners since all other city officials were appointed and served at the discretion of the commission, could be subject to recall by the voters; there could be no secret meeting of the city council;¹ every ordinance appropriating money must be on file seven days before it became effective; all franchises must be submitted to a vote by the people; officers must have no secret obligations to public service companies in the way of passes, special rates, or free service;² every act of the commission should be public and open to inspection; the acceptance or rejection of this system would be by popular vote.

In addition to these features, which had been included in the bill introduced in 1906, the new proposal contained

¹The bill read: "All meetings of the council, whether regular or special, at which any person not a city officer is admitted, shall be open to the public." This led to a great deal of argument whether or not all the business of the city could be conducted in secrecy. The reformers said no; the opposition said yes. [Senate File 212, 32nd Iowa General Assembly (1907), Box 419, p. 107].

²"Such prohibition of free transportation shall not apply to policemen or firemen in uniform; nor shall any free service to city officials heretofore provided by any franchise or ordinance be affected by this section" (Ibid., p. 12).

provisions that allowed for recall of public officials and initiative and referendum on legislative issues.¹ Any vacancy occurring in the office of mayor or commissioner should be filled by a vote of the remaining members. These additions of the primary election, the non-partisan election, recall, initiative and referendum to the commission government constituted Des Moines' major contribution to popularizing the commission plan.

The Des Moines Plan, in spite of the changes, was still considered too radical by some and not likely to be passed by the legislature. John B. Sullivan, representing Polk County and chairman of the House committee on Municipal Corporations, said that, "there is absolutely no hope for getting a Galveston Commission Bill through this legislature." Sullivan was also quoted as saying that, "even if the legislature should pass a Galveston Bill, I am quite confident the governor would veto it."² That the governor would veto

¹The reform measures of recall, initiative and referendum were copied from the City of Los Angeles, California, which had adopted them in December, 1902. But it was the Swiss in the sixteenth century who pioneered these three reform measures /"The American City, the Storm Center in the Battle for Good Government," The Arena, 38 (October, 1937), p. 432; See also, Edwin M. Bacon and Morrill Wyman, Direct Elections and Law-Making by Popular Vote (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912), p. 51/.

Reference to these reform measures being added to the city government was in the Socialist platform for a number of years. Even with these changes the Socialist continued to condemn the plan (Des Moines Daily News, January 15, 1906; Des Moines Register and Leader, March 11, 1907).

²Des Moines Daily Capitol, February 2, 1907.

this legislation appeared likely since he supported a strong mayor form of government such as the Indianapolis Plan. Senator Dowell who was to present and defend the bills, favored the Indianapolis Plan and was expected to offer only luckwarm support. The bill was still opposed by some Republicans and Socialists in addition to the public service corporations and the "city hall gang."¹

Despite the efforts of city hall and others opposed to the Des Moines Plan, the bill was submitted to the thirty-second General Assembly. On February 18, 1907, the bill was introduced by Senator Dowell; assigned Senate File number 212; read twice and referred to the committee on Cities and Towns. the committee set March 5th as the date for a hearing on Senate File 212. Members of the Des Moines Commercial Club spoke for the bill at these hearings. The opposition which presented their original objections to the bill was represented by Frank Herriott and A. D., Pugh, leader of the Socialist Party in Des Moines.² On March 15th the senate committee unanimously reported the Des Moines Plan with a few changes for adoption. Most of the proposed amendments dealt with the grammatical structure of the bill to make its meaning more precise.³ However, there were some significant substantive changes as well.

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, March 6, 1907.

²Ibid.

³Journal of the Senate, 32nd General Assembly of Iowa, (1907), March 15, 1907, pp. 728-730.

Many members of the committee objected to the original bill which provided that on the petition of one hundred citizens a special election on whether the city should place itself under the commission government or not could be called; some Senators believed that needless elections would be forced on many cities. So they proposed that the number be changed to "ten per centum of the votes cast for all candidates for mayor at the last preceding city election."¹ The committee also wanted two sub-sections added to the bill to provide specific punishment for bribery of voters and any city official who tried directly or indirectly to influence the political views of another city employee.² In the third reading of the bill on March 21st all of the committee's amendments except two were adopted by the Senate.³ The two rejected amendments dealt with changes in the percentage of voters required to hold special elections. One attempted to raise the percentage from twenty-five to forty per centum of all electors voting for mayor in the last municipal election, necessary for a referendum petition. The other involved changing of the percentage from twenty to forty per centum necessary to recall a commissioner.

On the Senate floor, an attempt was made by Senator A. J. De Armand of Davenport to make the bill apply only

¹Ibid., p. 728.

²Ibid., p. 729.

³Journal of the Senate, 32nd General Assembly of Iowa, 1907, March 21, 1907, pp. 861-863.

to Des Moines by limiting its application to cities of 50,000 or more. However, other Senators felt that the De Armand amendment would kill the bill by making it unconstitutional.¹ A series of other population amendments were proposed until Senator John H. Jackson of Sioux City advocated an amendment setting the population at 25,000. The rest of the Senate finally agreed, thereby allowing cities of 25,000 or more to organize under this bill.² Other amendments, mostly dealing with the new population figure of the bill, were proposed and adopted. Finally on the afternoon of March 21st, the bill was unanimously adopted.³

The Des Moines Plan was introduced in the House also on February 18, 1907, by Representative John Sullivan of Polk County. The bill was given House File number 100, read twice and referred to the committee of Municipal Corporations under Sullivan's chairmanship. The committee met in joint session with the Senate committee on Cities and Towns on March 5, 1907, to hear witnesses for and against the measure. Representative Sullivan seemed to have received a lot of pressure from the proponents and the opponents of the Des Moines Plan. He presented in the House several

¹The Iowa Constitution prohibited special legislation for an individual city.

²Journal of the Senate, 32nd General Assembly of Iowa, 1907, March 21, 1907, p. 869.

³Ibid., p. 873.

resolutions of labor unions opposed to the Des Moines Plan.¹ During the same time he was visited by delegations from the Des Moines Commercial Club which "intimated that it will not go well with him in future political contests in Des Moines if he does not stand by the commission plan of government for Des Moines."²

On March 14, the committee by a twelve to eight margin submitted majority and minority reports to the House, the majority recommending an indefinite postponement of House File 285, the minority recommending its passage.³ The result was that Representative Sullivan moved that House File 285 be made a special order for consideration on the afternoon of March 21st at 2 o'clock.⁴ On March 21st, however, the House received word that the Senate had passed the bill, and decided to postpone its decision until March 26th, in order to study the Senate bill.⁵ On that date, the House began its debate on Senate File number 212. An

¹Journal of the House, 32nd General Assembly of the State of Iowa, 1907, February 20, 1907, p. 451; February 22, 1907, p. 492; and March 19, 1907, p. 885.

²Des Moines Daily Capitol, March 13, 1907.

³The Des Moines Register and Leader reported that two members of the committee were absent but favored the bill (Des Moines Register and Leader, March 13, 1907; See also, House Records, 32nd General Assembly of the State of Iowa, 1907, Box 433, p. 7).

⁴Journal of the House, 32nd General Assembly of the State of Iowa, March 14, 1907, p. 810.

⁵Ibid., March 31, 1907, pp. 907, 991, and 1032.

attempt was made in the House, as in the Senate, to make the measure apply only to Des Moines, but these amendments were voted down. Other minor changes were made by the House. These involved increasing the number of signatures on petitions of initiative and recall, and raising the percentage of voters needed to call an election to adopt or reject the plan from ten to twenty-five per cent. The House added section twenty-two to the act which said that only legal voters of the city could sign petitions provided for in this act.¹ The bill's crucial moment came when Representative Frank Balluff of Scott County proposed an addition to section twenty-two that would also permit petitions of remonstrance, and that if a person signed the petition for the election and the remonstrance his signature would count on only the remonstrance. If a greater number of voters remonstrated than petitioned, the petition would be held insufficient, and therefore, no election would be held.² This amendment, however, lost on a voice vote. After this Representative Sullivan called for a vote on Senate File 212; the vote was eighty-five to nine in favoring the passage.³ Fourteen Representatives were absent or did not vote.

¹Ibid., March 26, 1907, p. 1028.

²Ibid., p. 1129.

³Ibid., p. 1130.

The House amendments to Senate File 212 were approved by the Senate two days later.¹ On March 29th, the bill was signed by the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate and sent to Governor Cummins. The Governor signed the bill on the same day and the Des Moines Plan was law.

The question that arises at this point was why would the legislature in 1906 let the bill die in committee and the next year pass it by such a large majority? Some of the newspapers suggested various reasons why the bill passed. One reason given was that it was a "hot" political issue in 1907, and the legislature wanted to get rid of it. Another reason given by Plain Talk, an East Des Moines magazine, was that the legislators, while condemning the object and intent of the law, passed it because a number of citizens of Des Moines and several newspapers from other cities such as Cedar Rapids, Davenport, and Sioux City asked for it, and because it could not be used unless a majority of the voters of the city voted for it.² This was the view expressed by Senator John L. Warren of Pella explaining why he voted in favor of the plan.

I vote "aye" on Senate File No. 212 for the reason that many citizens of Des Moines

¹A motion to reconsider the House passage was filed on March 27th but was withdrawn on the 28th (Ibid., pp. 1156, 1182, and 1192).

²Plain Talk, April, 1907; See also, Des Moines Daily Capitol, January 10, 1907.

desire an opportunity to vote upon its adoption or rejection at a special election called for that purpose. The reservation that I entertain in reference to this measure is the fear that it contains in its provisions the temptation to place the government farther from the people, which should not be attained under our form of government. But since my vote does not establish such a system without the consent of the people so governed, I vote for the measure relying upon the wisdom and intelligence of the people to reject or adopt the provisions hereof as they may finally determine.¹

Another reason for the change in the legislature's opinion may have been the fact that in the fall of 1906, there was an election of representatives and senators which produced a considerable turnover. In the House of 1907, 79 out of 108 members were new. The change was no less dramatic in the Senate, where sixteen of the twenty-two members up for election were new.² In the House of 1907, there were seventy-six Republicans and thirty-two Democrats and a loss of three for the Republicans. In the Senate, the Republicans lost six seats to the Democrats which brought their total to fourteen. The shake-up caused by the election saw the progressive Republicans making up the majority in the House, having forty-seven of the seventy-six seats held

¹Journal of the Senate, 32nd General Assembly of Iowa, 1907, March 21, 1907, p. 873.

²Greg S. Brewer and John M. Jamieson, Comp., Iowa Official Register, 1907, (Des Moines: Emory H. English, State Printer and E. D. Chassell, State Binder, 1907), pp. 188-195. W. B. Martin Comp., Iowa Official Register, 1906, (Des Moines: Emory H. English, State Printer and E. D. Chassell, State Binder, 1906), pp. 124-128.

by the Republicans. In the Senate, however, the standpatters had twenty out of the thirty-six seats held by the Republicans.¹

That there was going to be a total realignment in the House committees was certain because there were so many new members. This was reflected in the fact that twenty-five out of the twenty-nine members on the Committee of Municipal Corporations were new. A similiar shake-up was expected in the Senate, and the Register and Leader credited Lieutenant Governor Garst with shifting the membership of the committees in the upper house with a ruthless hand.² The size of the Senate committee on Cities and Towns was increased from five in 1906 to sixteen in 1907 which helps account for the fact that the new members held seven of the sixteen seats.³

A study of the occupation and residence of both the House and Senate committee members revealed no significant change in either between the 1906 and the 1907 General Assemblies. Since the House controlled by the progressives and the Senate by the standpatters, no argument can be made that the progressives pushed the bill through since the standpatters controlled the Senate, and the Senate voted for it unanimously. The evidence seems to indicate, therefore, that the legislature passed the Des Moines Plan in

¹Des Moines Daily News, November 9, 1906.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, January 18, 1907.

³Martin, op. cit., p. 132; Brewer, op. cit., p. 197.

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1907, simply because it wanted to be rid of the problem of commission government. Since it was not mandatory but optional, most of the legislators, whether rural or urban, progressive or standpatter, Republican or Democrat seemed to be willing to get it out of the legislature and let the city people decide the question for themselves.

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Chapter 6

The Campaign for the Adoption of the Des Moines Plan

Even though the reformers had achieved some unity in their campaign and succeeded in getting the Des Moines Plan passed by the legislature, they still faced the determined opposition of the Socialists, a small but vocal group; the "city hall gang"; the public service corporations; leaders of organized labor; and some members of the ministerial and education community. All of the opposition groups opposed the Des Moines Plan but for different reasons as was pointed out in Chapter 4. The arguments they used in fighting against the plan in the legislature were used in the fight to dissuade the citizens of Des Moines from adopting the plan.

The real battle over the Des Moines Plan began soon after Governor Cummins had signed the bill. The Governor's action brought the Committee of 300 together again to draw up a petition to present the Des Moines Plan to the voters of the city for their approval or disapproval at a special election. On the evening of April 5, 1907, at a banquet of members of the Committee of 300, a petition was drawn up and a committee appointed to secure the necessary number

of signatures.¹ The adopted petition read as follows:

Honorable George W. Mattern:

We, the undersigned electors of the city of Des Moines do hereby respectfully petition and request you to submit to the voters of the city of Des Moines the question of organizing the city of Des Moines as a city under the provisions of an act of the thirty-second General Assembly of the State of Iowa entitled, 'an act to provide for the government of certain cities and the adoption thereof by special election additional to Title V (five) of the Code, as provided by section 2 of said act.'²

The committee needed to collect only 3,000 signatures out of the approximately 14,000 eligible voters. The city's three daily newspapers painted a rosy picture of the petition's success; "voters in all parts of the city are tumbling over each other to get their signatures on the petitions."³

The labor newspaper, the Iowa Unionist, however, painted a different picture of how the Committee was able to get so many signatures so fast. "Last Saturday when laborers were paid their wages, the petition for signatures was presented with these polite words; 'I want you to sign that petition'."⁴ The Unionist said that such tactics were adopted in order that enough signers could be obtained to meet the legal requirements of calling the special election.

¹Des Moines Daily News, April 5, 1907; See also, Brigham Johnson, History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1911), p. 398.

²Des Moines Daily News, April 5, 1907.

³Des Moines Daily News, April 7, 1907.

⁴Iowa Unionist, April 12, 1907.

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In spite of the complaints about the petitioners' tactics, they had obtained 6,032 signatures when they submitted the petitioner to Mayor Mattern on April 20th. After the petitions had been verified as legal, the mayor promptly set the date of the election as June 20, 1907.¹ So the stage was set for an interesting campaign.

The reformers, as pointed out before, had all three of the city's major newspapers in their camp demanding reform. The Register and Leader continued to portray Des Moines as, "one of the miserably governed cities of the west."² The News felt that a radical change was needed. The Capitol said that the time was ripe for a "new deal." The reformers also had one of the best cartoonists of his time, Jay Norwood "Ding" Darling, whose anti-city hall, anti-public service corporation cartoons appeared on the front page of the Register and Leader. (See pages 77 and 78)

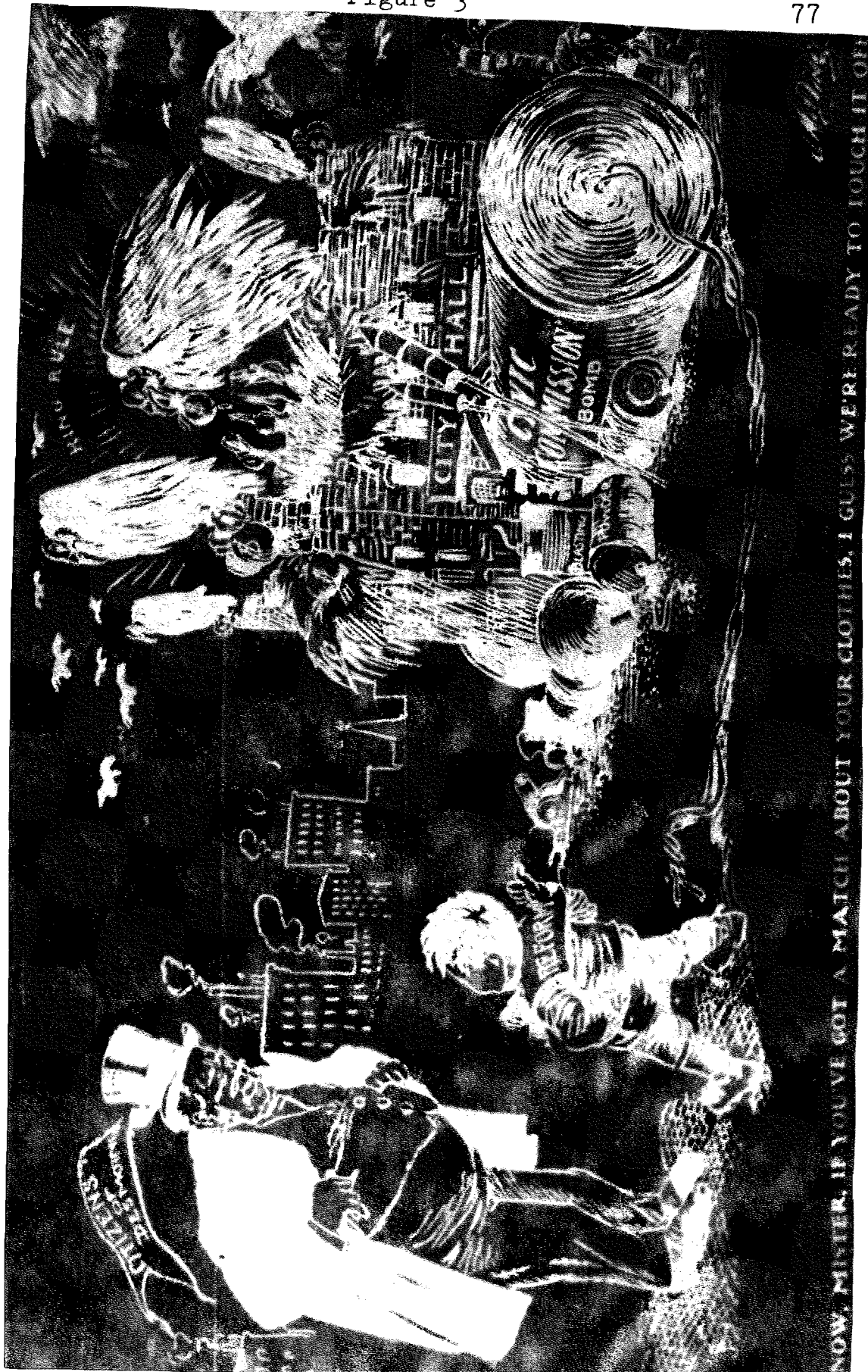
The reformers were also backed by the Church league, Ministerial Association and the Temperance League. These organizations wanted to see not only a change in government but also stricter enforcement of liquor laws and the red light district closed down. Des Moines' reformers received very little outside political support as Governor Cummins said he stood for clean government but gave little support to the Des Moines Plan.³ The supporters of the Des Moines

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, May 17, 1907.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, February 1, 1907.

³"The American City, the Storm Center in the Battle for Good Government," The Arena, 38 (October, 1937), pp. 432 & 435.

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An Example of J. N. "Ding" Darling's Cartoon
Advocating Reform of Municipal Government¹

¹ Des Moines Register and Leader, January 13, 1907.



An Example of J. N. "Ding" Darling's Cartoon
Advocating Reform of Municipal Government¹

¹ Des Moines Register and Leader, June 20, 1907.

moral editorial support from the other newspapers which were reprinted in the Register and Leader

The committee appointed by the Committee to conduct the campaign for the Des Moines Plan pledged itself to a clean fight. They promised for every man's opinion and that the committee indulge in vile invectives nor mud-slinging."² the reformers did not refrain from mud-slinging does as they led the public to believe. The Ca dicted that the "defeat of the Des Moines Plan the end of the effort for better government in for at least ten years, possibly longer."³ The and Leader and the Daily News both predicted the Moines did adopt the plan just the opposite would and everybody would watch and visit Des Moines a place that "does things."⁴ They also relied on hypothetical stories and half truths about the

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, January; Cedar Rapids Gazette, March 9, 1907; Cedar Rapids March 13, 1907; Cedar Rapids Gazette, March 24, City Journal, March 24, 1907; Cedar Rapids Republic April 17, 1907; Register and Leader editorial on cities in Iowa interested, May 3, 1907; Dubuque Herald, May 8, 1907; Cedar Rapids Gazette, May 1 Note, Cedar Rapids was the second city in Iowa in the commission plan.

²Des Moines Daily Capitol, May 25, 1907.

³Des Moines Daily Capitol, June 7, 1907.

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, May 1, See also, Des Moines Daily News, February 10, 19

gang." An example of their use of such stories appeared in the Daily Capitol:

"Just a few days more," remarked the City Hall Boss as the members of the gang gathered in the garret at the city hall this morning, 'and it will all be over.'

'Now I want all you fellows to drop the Des Moines Plan. Cut it out. It hasn't anything to do with the election anyway. So the next man I hear talking Des Moines Plan gets fired on the spot.

What I want you to spend these last few days in doing is telling the voters how they are going to lose their liberties. Don't they know we city hall fellows are selected as guardians of their votes. And we don't want to see them deprived of the right of franchise, even if it comes to throwing out their votes and putting in ballots like they ought to be voted.'¹

An example of exaggeration appeared on the front page story which began with the line "vote with us if you want to hold a job under the present city administration." This, according to the article, was the ultimatum that went forth to city employees from city hall politicians. Yet the head of the department that was accused of letting one man go because of his support for the Des Moines Plan, professed no knowledge of firing the man and said that as far as he was concerned the man was still working.² The three dailies also used other tactics such as saying that exiled "sports" and gamblers were flocking back to Des Moines to oppose the Des Moines Plan because they received promises from the opposition to make

¹Des Moines Daily Capitol, June 17, 1907.

²Des Moines Daily Capitol, June 15, 1907.

Des Moines a wide open town.¹ Yet the question arose, why would these gamblers and "sports" return to Des Moines to support a government that had thrown them out and might repudiate its supposed promises later. The Register and Leader's editorial writers also wrote particularly vicious articles against the opponents of the plan and their scratchin about for votes that hardly fit the campaign committees promise of a clean campaign.²

The reformers also continued their exposure of the government's corruption and inefficiency. Their main targets were the cost overruns on the sixth avenue bridge project, the city library, and other city projects; the fact that there never was enough money in the city treasury to cover the city's operating expenses and build a working capital; the high rates, in comparison to such rates in other cities, the public service corporations charged the city for their services; the presence of saloons and prostitutes; and the general lack of responsibility and accountability in the city government.³

However, it was the opposition to the Des Moines Plan that waged a losing but more interesting campaign. The most common objections of the opponents were first that

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, May 24, June 14, 1907

²Des Moines Register and Leader, June 10, 1907.

³Des Moines Daily News, February 7, March 8, and May 13, 1907; See also, Des Moines Daily Capitol, June 17, 1907.

by doing away with the ward system, the plan was un-American and undemocratic; that it involved a radical departure from American traditions of local self-government and was a step in the direction of municipal dictatorships. Secondly, they objected to the elective officers being cut down to five, while all other posts were filled by appointment. They argued that this would lead to greater and not less partisan power struggles.¹

The opponents of the Des Moines Plan started out at a disadvantage since all three of the city's major newspapers favored the Des Moines Plan and the opponents had no real way of putting their views across. So they started a new newspaper on April 5, 1907; it was known as the Tribune which was sent to every home in the city during the course of the campaign. The paper was to represent the views of East Des Moines.² Yet as late as the 11th of April, the paper's editorial staff had not taken a public stance on the Des Moines Plan outside of saying that the Tribune would "in no way be influenced

¹The supporters defense was that the city government involved business problems and that concentration of power was absolutely essential to prompt, decisive, and intelligent action. Besides, the citizens were protected by the initiative, referendum and recall. They also argued that five men familiar with the city's problems were more competent to pass upon the qualifications of candidates for clerical positions, than the voters themselves [James G. Berryhill, "The Des Moines Plan of Municipal Government" (paper read at the Iowa Bar Association Meeting, July 9, 1908, Waterloo, Iowa), p. 11; See also: E. Clyde Robbins, Commission Plan of Municipal Government, Debates Handbook Series (Minneapolis: H. W. Wilson Company, 1909), pp. 46-48].

²Editorial, Des Moines Tribune, April 5, 1907.

by the radical position taken by the other three Des Moines papers."¹ Two days later the paper ran an editorial that the plan's success or failure rested upon the selection of candidates to execute the law and not the law itself.² Progressively the Tribune became more and more anti-Des Moines Plan.

The Tribune was soon fighting a savage battle against the municipal reformers. The paper attacked the plan at every level. It constantly pointed out what it considered defects in the plan, whether real or imaginary.³ The paper attacked this "dangerous measure" for several reasons. First, the fact that the Des Moines Plan placed the absolute control of the city into the hands of five men, three of whom could control the city. Secondly, these five men were given the power to spend over a million dollars of the people's money annually without bond. Third, the paper raised the rather flimsy reason that the people had no assurance that the new commission would contain better men. Also, the voters had no say as to which department the commissioners were to have. Fourth, the paper objected to the power of the commission to appoint every city official with little regard for any civil service. The Tribune, facetiously, noted that, "the only public employees in the city which the

¹Editorial, Des Moines Tribune, April 11, 1907.

²Editorial, Des Moines Tribune, April 13, 1907.

³Des Moines Tribune, May 8, 1907.

commission is not empowered to appoint is the street car conductors." Fifth, the proposal to pay enormous salaries (a total of \$15,500.00 for the five man commission versus \$4,300.00 for the current system of nine member council and mayor) would cause greater activity on the part of every political boss in the city to secure these positions. Sixth, the paper felt that the initiative, referendum and recall sections were so written as to render them inactive and they would either never be resorted to or used every week at a huge cost to the taxpayers. Seventh, the fact the mayor would have no veto power and the simple majority of the council could rule without having to worry about this check. Eighth, the Tribune felt that the public service franchises could be renewed and extended by the commission and that the feature of the plan that said that franchises were to be voted on by the people applied only to new franchises. Lastly, they objected to the non-partisan feature which would give more Democrats a chance to secure elective office in the city.¹

The Tribune described the major supporters of the plan as the silk-stocking aristocratic millionaires of the city who were out to exclude the workingman from the control of government. The editorial staff of the Tribune referred to the other three dailies as the "tax-dodging conspirators" of the west side who were trying to get the people of the

¹Des Moines Tribune, May 22, 1907.

city to adopt the business practices of Standard Oil, the railroads and the meat packing industries, "through a censorship as positive as in Russia."¹ This paper appealed to every hatred of the people of Des Moines. To the union men, the paper wrote that the plan was devised by their natural enemies--the employers.² The Republicans were told that the plan was the only chance for the Democrats to get into office because of the non-partisan feature.³ The most absurd appeals were made to the Russian Jews, the Swedes, and the Italian voters. The Tribune pictured the Des Moines Plan as a return to the monarchy they had just escaped from in Europe.⁴ To the Negroes, the reminder was made that the plan had come from the South. To the enemies of former Mayor John MacVicar, the plan was pictured as a chance for him to direct the "municipal ship of state against the rocky shores of bankruptcy."⁵ The Tribune also attacked the ministers who supported the plan and told them that "they should educate the people to be honest voters and workers and thereby they would do far more good than in undertaking to advocate visionary and untried plans, and neglecting the work for which they were ordained, to-wit: the spiritual uplifting

¹Editorial, Des Moines Tribune, April 23, May 4, 1907.

²Des Moines Tribune, May 13, 1907.

³Des Moines Tribune, May 14, 31, 1907.

⁴Des Moines Tribune, May 4, 8, and June 13, 1907.

⁵Des Moines Tribune, April 29, June 10, 1907; See also, Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, June 17, 1907.

and moral education of the masses."¹ The Tribune even the three other newspapers with hiring "the little cart boys of the Tribune to throw their papers in the river burn the papers sent out for regular routes and have paid them for so doing, as we can, and will, eventually prove. However, they never substantiated this charge.

The appearance of the Tribune and its anti-Des Moines Plan stance makes it possible to study which companies in the city opposed the plan by advertising either exclusively or more heavily in the Tribune than in the three major papers. A comparison of advertisements in four newspapers during a one week period in each of the following months of 1907--April, May, and June--reveals that the public service corporations were among the major supporters of the Tribune from the start. (See Appendix) For example, the Des Moines Gas Company placed a total of sixteen advertisements in the Tribune during the time studied as against only six ads in the other three papers combined. Similarly, the Des Moines Edison Light Company placed seventeen advertisements in the Tribune and only thirteen ads in the other three papers. The Des Moines Water Works Company also followed suit by placing sixteen advertisements in the Tribune and only one ad in the other three papers during this period.

¹ Editorial, Des Moines Tribune, June 3, 1907.

Another group of strong supporters of the existing system of government and advertisers in the Tribune was the contractors and their suppliers such as John T. Christie Company which advertised a total of seventeen times in the Tribune and not once in the other three papers. The suppliers such as Eagle Iron Works, Jewett Lumber Company, Iowa Iron and Metal Works also followed the same pattern.¹

Both sides accused the other of receiving the support of the public service corporations. Charles Holly charged in the Tribune:

The fact that the public service corporations endorse the Des Moines Plan and that they are working for its adoption should awaken the voters to the menace of the scheme....²

However, Representative Jerry B. Sullivan said that, "it's the corporations--the public service utilities. That's where the backbone of the opposition to the Des Moines Plan is found."³ The evidence tends to support Sullivan's charge.

Further study of the advertisers revealed that most of the Tribunes' advertisers were, as could be expected, East side businesses. The most interesting fact to be observed, was that outside of the support given the Tribune by the public service corporations, major retailers, which

1	<u>Tribune</u>	<u>Other 3</u>
Eagle Iron Works	15	0
Jewett Lumber Company	14	0
Iowa Iron and Metal Works	14	3

²Des Moines Tribune, May 13, 1907.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, June 15, 1907.

were located on the West side, such as Younker Brothers, Utica, Frankel's, Fellows and Fellows, and Davidson and Brothers; and the major railroads such as the Chicago Great Western, Chicago Union Pacific, Great Northern, and Rock Island advertised very little or not at all in the Tribune.¹ So from this evidence it appears that the major merchants and some of the railroads in the city may have felt, for whatever reasons, that it was time for a change.

Yet the Tribune was not the only means the opposition had of getting their views to the public. They also published a pamphlet called Plain Talk. Though opposed to the Des Moines Plan, it did not resort to the emotional appeal that the Tribune used. Plain Talk simply argued that the "people's condemnation should be placed upon the plan at the first opportunity."²

The opposition also had the support of a third newspaper, the weekly Iowa Unionist. The Unionist, under the editorship of City Alderman, John O. Staley, boasted that it spoke for organized labor. Principally, the Unionist, was opposed to the plan because the "corporations and millionaires" had drawn it up. The paper said that labor feared the concentration of power and that corrupt officials

¹No clear reasons for their position could be found from the information available. One possible explanation might be that these businesses wanted to exercise more control in city government and have it responsive to their needs and interests than the present city government was.

²Plain Talk, April 6, 1907.

might get a chance to abuse this power. It argued that recall, initiative and referendum in the hand of an appointive city clerk would be ineffective. The paper referred to the Des Moines Plan as an oligarchy coming from an ex-confederate state. It said that the plan was a reactionary return to the medieval city government of Eurpoe. The paper was also afraid of three commissioners being elected from "Grand Avenue on the hill" and that they would vote through proposals and tax levies unfair to the East and the South sides.¹ Another example of the Unionist emotional appeal was the songs that appeared in its pages.

A Campaign Song for the Voters of Des Moines²

Yea voting men of old Des Moines
 Have Conscience quite elastic
 I pray for you don't have me enjoined
 If I should grow sarcastic
 Now listen defunct votes,
 While I sing of your disaster,
 Come forth with humble confidence,
 Vote for your Lord and Master.

Chorus

Don't hump your back and look so mad,
 Because I'm singing this wise,
 Creep by puppies that's been whipped
 And vote to loose your franchise,
 You're whipped in or you would not vote,
 For kings, established this wise.

You know they curse you in their hearts,
 Each man this very hour,
 They only hope that you may climb on
 And ride them into power,

¹Iowa Unionist, January 4, and May 3, 1907; See also, Iowa Unionist, December 28, 1906.

²Iowa Unionist, May 24, 1907.

Should you ride them in and they would prove
 Too honest for the fashion,
 You could only look to Galveston
 To act as their assassin.

Chorus

There was a time when the Rebels struck,
 At the heart of this great nation,
 Some did then aid and comfort give,
 To treason and secession.
 This is a white man's government,
 They cried in every place,
 The franchise shall not be bestowed
 Upon the colored race.

Chorus

Oh, boys in blue your color shows
 and on that fatal morning,
 We'll sound the bugle, beat the drum,
 Give them all a final warning,
 That they can't pull wool o'er Ike's eyes,
 Because he's not asleep.
 A sambo would be much ashamed,
 Such company to keep.

The opposition of the Unionist is significant as there were over 5,000 members of organized labor in Des Moines. This represented over one-third of the city's eligible voters. And it appeared that the reformers were quite concerned about labor's opposition. The Register and Leader ran several stories on the fact that a number of union men and laborers who were not members of unions favored a change in government. Yet both the Trades and Labor Assembly and the Des Moines Carpenters and Joiners passed anti-Des Moines Plan resolutions.¹

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, January 25, 1907.
 See also: Iowa Unionist, March 1, 1907.

The opposition also drew the support of some members of the educational and ministerial communities. Professor Frank I. Herriott, professor of economics and political science at Drake University, was the most frequently mentioned member of the educational community opposed to the plan. Professor Herriott argued that, "voters get what they deserve; that most of our cities governments are monstrosities that can not be changed until the souls of all men are purified." He also objected to the power given to the council under the Des Moines Plan.¹ However, Professor Herriott agreed that the campaign for the plan did increase public enthusiasm which would mean better government but that it did not appear that this was meant to last and that a few years after the campaign things would be back to where they were before the plan was even mentioned for Des Moines.²

Father John F. Nugent of the Church of the Visitation was the most vocal member of the clerical opposition to the plan. Father Nugent opposed the plan because he saw the centralization of the government as an attempt to restrict the franchise of the people.³ For his efforts the Tribune

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, June 8, 1907.

²Des Moines Daily News, February 26, 1907; See also, Des Moines Daily Capitol, May 13, 1907.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, June 15, 1907; See also, Des Moines Tribune, June 7, 1907.

conferred several titles upon the priest, among them "defender of popular government in the city."¹

The opposition campaign appeared to have received some grass-roots support. Several local ward organizations which had been organized to make the feeling of a particular area or group of people known to government passed anti-Des Moines Plan resolutions, conspicuous examples being the Seventh Ward Municipal Club, the Fourth Ward Improvement League, the Logan League, and the Swedish and Socialist organizations.²

Before the election was over the opponents of the Des Moines Plan had used about every trick in the book. They had packed meetings at which reformers were to speak with hecklers.³ They tried to create two new wards for this election in an attempt to gain support for the existing government by giving one more vote on the city council to both the first and seventh wards which would have been split by this measure, but this failed due to a court injunction granted to the reformers.⁴ Civil Service employees, such as city firemen, were asked to "chip in" for the opposition campaign costs which were estimated at \$50,000.00.⁵ Another

¹Des Moines Tribune, June 15, 1907.

²Des Moines Tribune, June 1, 1907. See also: Des Moines Daily News, June 3, 1907.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, May 29, 1907.

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, May 26, 1907.

⁵Des Moines Register and Leader, June 7, and June 18, 1907.

tactic was an attempt to fix the election board to their best advantage by substituting anti-reform people for those who were either neutral or pro-reform.¹ The list of potential judges was suggested by none other than Bob O'Callagan, leader of the Active Republican Organization of Polk County.² When the news broke about this list and the fact that the city clerk would notify a number of judges on the day of the election that their places had been filled by other selections, the city council had to retreat and said that the list was only a "suggested list of replacement election judges in case any of the appointed judges should become 'sick'."³

Perhaps the most outrageous scandal of the campaign by the opposition was the disclosure on June 17th, three days before the election, that the voter registration book under the management of the "city hall gang" had been padded with from 6,000 to 8,000 names that did not belong there.⁴ These extra names were people who had either died or moved. The Tribune argued that it was simply a mistake made by the city clerk who had mistaken the registration books of 1904

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, May 30, June 1, and 4, 1907.

²See Chapter 4.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, May 30, June 2 and 4, 1907.

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, June 18, 1907; See also, "The American City, the Storm Center in the Battle for Good Government," The Arena, 38 (October, 1937), p. 435.

for the poll books of 1906 and had copied the names for the special election from the 1904 books.¹ The Tribune also argued that this was advantageous to the reformers as a larger number of "reform" electors were registered at the 1904 election.² But all of these tactics were of no avail, for a petition for a restrictive and mandatory injunction was filed in the Court of Judge James A. Howe asking the court to direct the registrars of the election to correct their books and to cut out the bogus names. The injunction was granted and the names were struck.³

However, there also appeared to be a scandal in the making on the part of the reformers. The reformers' actions, done in secret, did not come to the public's attention until during the first election under the Des Moines Plan, and therefore did not receive any attention in the papers during the campaign for adoption of the plan. The scandal involved John MacVicar, Harvey Ingham, Lafe Young, and the public service corporations.

When the campaign for the adoption of the Des Moines Plan was inaugurated, John MacVicar was in New York City where he spent one year as Secretary of the League of American Municipalities. The supporters of the Des Moines Plan, fearful that it would be defeated, asked MacVicar to return

¹Des Moines Tribune, June 19, 1907.

²Des Moines Tribune, June 18, 1907.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, June 19, 1907.

and assist in carrying the election for it. Among those earnestly soliciting his return was Harvey Ingham. Yet once MacVicar returned, political intrigue started to take place.

It appears from MacVicar's papers and articles in the News that a political deal was made by Harvey Ingham and Lafe Young with the public service corporations. The basic facts of the incident were that on the day before the referendum, Ingham and Young, fearing the defeat of the plan, went to the "city railway crowd" lead by George Hippee to make a deal so that the public service corporations would drop their opposition and the plan might pass. When questioned about this later, Ingham said that he had simply gone to them and forced them to quit under threats and an argument that did not amount to "anything."¹ However, according to the News and MacVicar's private papers, Ingham and Young had promised the public service corporation that they would not permit John MacVicar to be elected a member of the new commission, and that for this reason and others, the corporations dropped their opposition to the Des Moines Plan.²

¹Des Moines Daily News, March 9, 1908.

²Ibid.; See also, Des Moines Daily News, January 23, 1908; John J. Hamilton to MacVicar, October 18, 1907; MacVicar to Walt Bulter, October 25, 1907; MacVicar to Frank E. Lyman, October 25, 1907; MacVicar to John B. Lucas, October 25, 1907 (John MacVicar Papers, Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa, Box M252, Vol. 2).

The News supported the campaign of MacVicar during the first election held under the Des Moines Plan in 1908.

This hearsay evidence and explanation helps explain why Ingham, who had at first pleaded for MacVicar's return to help get the plan adopted, subsequently opposed MacVicar's candidacy for commissioner in the election of 1908. This opposition can be seen as part of the pay off in the deal with the corporations who were opposed to some of MacVicar's radical ideas such as municipal ownership of the waterworks.

Another factor in the closing days of the campaign was the position of U. S. Congressman (Capt.) J. A. T. Hull on the Des Moines Plan. The question that all of Des Moines' newspapers were asking was, "What will Congressman Hull do?" Most of Hull's supporters in the city, including Mayor Mattern and Postmaster Joseph I. Myerly who was classified as a stand-patter by the Register and Leader, were personally opposed to the Des Moines Plan. The papers called on Hull to take a stand and end his silence. The supporters of the plan sent him a letter pleading with him to return to Des Moines and attend a pro-Des Moines Plan rally.¹ The Tribune tried to argue that Hull was opposed to the plan because he knew that the West side papers were trying to take control of the city's political machinery away from him, and that such a

However, no collaborating evidence to these charges was found in either Ingham's or Young's papers in the possession of the Iowa State Department of History and Archives, though the actions of the two newspapers tended to support MacVicar's charge (See Chapter 8).

¹J. A. T. Hull Papers, Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa, File 2, Part 2, June 16, 1907.

loss could mean the loss of his congressional seat.¹ The end to the public debate came on June 18th, when Hull said that, "I have refrained at all times, with one exception, of interfering in the slightest manner with the local government of local politics of this city or county. I propose to continue that course...."²

On the day before and the day of the referendum, the Tribune and the opposition continued their campaign by running scare stories on the 19th and 20th, warning that the East side citizens should be on their guard as the "politicians behind the Des Moines Plan propose to use the referendum to kill the purchase of the city hall site on the East side of the River."³ On the day of the election, the headlines of the Tribune read as follows:

DES MOINES PLAN DEFEATED BY HEAVIEST VOTE KNOWN IN YEARS

EAST SIDE IS REGISTERING TERRIBLE DRUBBING TO PROPOSED
MONARCHIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT--MANY SURPRISES
SPRUNG BY DES MOINES PLAN COMMITTEE⁴

This was printed before the votes were even counted and the people were still voting. Also on the election day, the Des Moines Edison Light Company announced that it was reducing electrical lighting rates from \$4.66 to \$2.85 per light per

¹Des Moines Tribune, June 17, 1907.

²Des Moines Capitol, June 18, 1907.

³Des Moines Tribune, June 19 and 20, 1907.

⁴Des Moines Tribune, June 20, 1907.

month.¹ The opposition's citizen committee also on the 20th issued a twenty-eight page pamphlet that was extremely critical of the Des Moines Plan. The pamphlet concluded with the following:

BEFORE YOU VOTE, ASK YOURSELF:

Is it American?
Is it a representative form
of government?
Is it not government by
commission?
Is it a government for the
people and by the people?
Is it not the classes
against the masses?²

However, these last-minute appeals and maneuvers failed. On June 20, 1907, the voters adopted the plan by a vote of 6,376 to 4,087.

¹Des Moines Daily News, June 20, 1907.

²Citizen's Committee, The Proposed Galveston-Des Moines Plan for City Government (Des Moines: Allied Printing, 1907), p. 28.

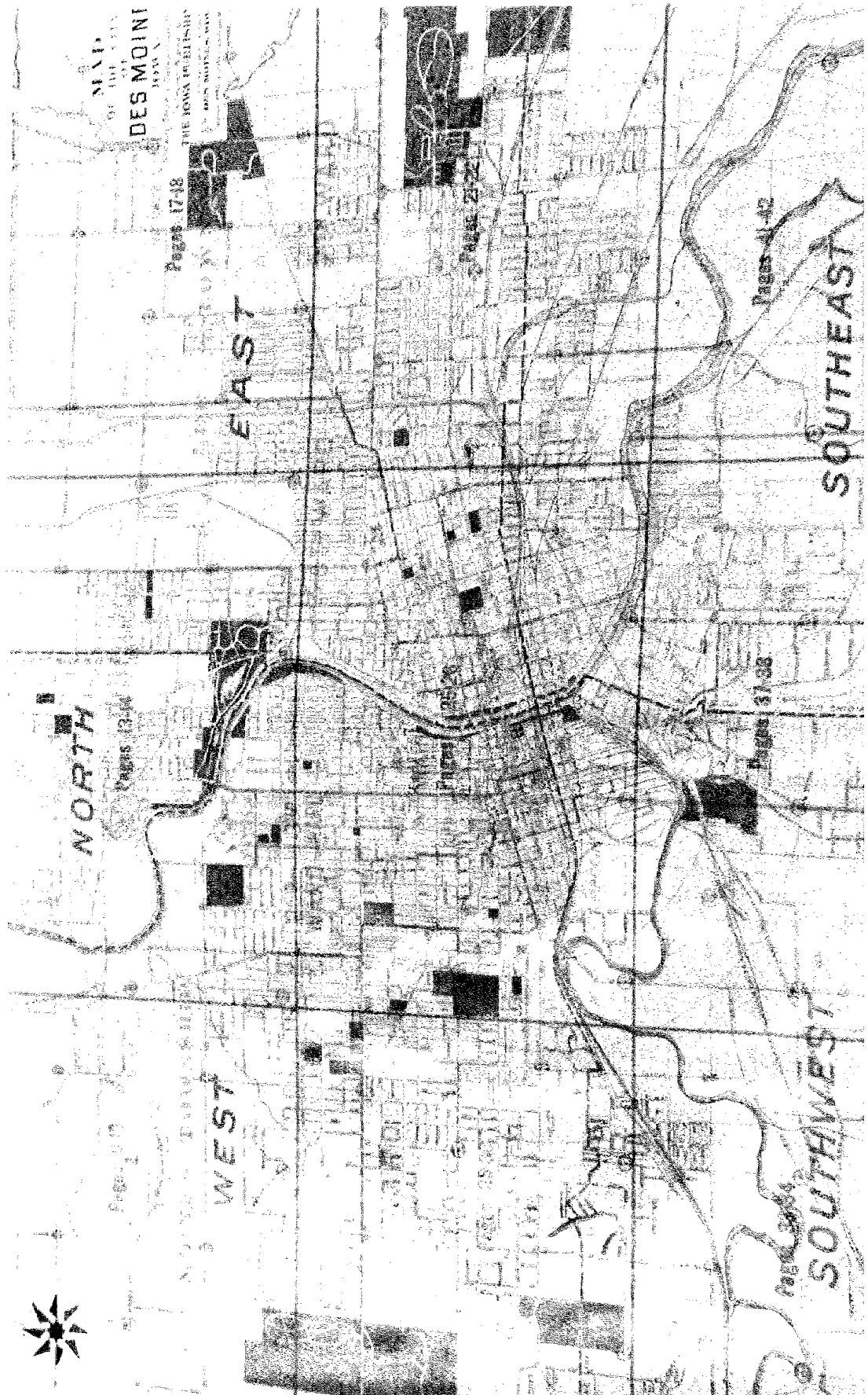
Chapter 7

A Socio-Economic Analysis of the Election Returns for the Des Moines Plan Referendum

In order to discuss the meaning of the result of the election and its significance, it is necessary to have a better idea of the physical and the population make-up of the voting precincts. The city contained twenty-nine voting precincts which were distributed among the seven wards into which Des Moines was divided. (See Map page 100) Three of the wards were on the East side of the river and four on the West side. The wards were numbered from West to East. Therefore, the first ward was in the extreme West while the seventh ward was in the extreme East. This splitting of Des Moines into East and West by the river led to a great deal of animosity and misunderstanding between the two sections. If one side favored something, the other side became suspicious and was inclined to reject the proposal.

The first ward which consisted of four precincts and covered the area between Seventeenth Street and the western city limits, had the largest population of any of the wards. The upper class of the city lived mainly in the second, third and fourth precincts, being more concentrated here than any other precinct of the city except

Figure 5



Map of Des Moines¹

¹M. Huebinger, Map of the City of Des Moines
(Des Moines: The Iowa Publishing Co., 1909), pp. 1-2.

for the fourth precinct of the third ward. It should also be remembered that the second and third precincts of the first ward made up almost a third of the Committee of 300.

The second ward consisted of three precincts. It ran from Twelfth Street to Seventeenth Street between the Raccoon and the Des Moines Rivers. Here and in the third ward resided the "great middle class of American cities," being for the most part people of moderate salaries and comfortable inexpensive homes.¹

The third ward comprised five precincts. It ran between Sixteenth Street and Twelfth Street from the Raccoon on the South to the Northern limits of the city by Highland Park which was included in this ward. This was a ward of extremes. The first precinct had the largest concentration of any of the first three wards of people in the lowest class, whereas in the fourth precinct the lowest percentage of this class in the whole city was found. The first precinct had the lowest representation of those on the West side in the first class of the random sample while the fourth precinct had the second highest in the whole city. (See Appendix C)

The fourth ward consisted of four precincts and included "Southwest Des Moines" and also the territory West of the Des Moines River to Sixth Street. The people here

¹Hugh S. Bell, "A Decade of the Referendum in Des Moines" (Unpublished, M. A. Thesis, Drake University, 1917), p. 28.

were largely laborers of rather limited means. Many employees of the railroads and factories made their homes in this part of the city. In the Southwest section the foreign element was quite predominant consisting mainly of the Italian citizens of the city. The Jewish element also lived in this precinct of the fourth ward.

The fifth ward comprised four precincts. It included a strip ten blocks wide running along the East bank of the Des Moines River as far north as Union Park. This was the "slum" district of Des Moines.¹ In fact the fourth and fifth wards were where the majority of the poorest people lived. The fifth ward also contained many illiterate foreigners--largely Swedes, Italians, and a few Russian Jews.²

The sixth ward consisted of five precincts and ran for six blocks further to the East. It had the highest concentration of businesses and professional people, though in smaller numbers, in East Des Moines. They corresponded

¹Ibid., p. 29.

²A sample of the census of 1905 concerning only those people who were foreign born or of foreign born parentage revealed that part of the fourth, all of the fifth, and part of the sixth wards contained the largest share of the sample when compared to the rest of the city.

Results by Ward:

Ward	Distribution of the foreign born or foreign born parentage sample
1	116
2	133
3	145
4	194
5	245
6	229
7	86

in status to their counterparts in the second and third wards.

The seventh ward included four precincts and ran from the east boundary of the sixth ward to the eastern limits of the city. It consisted mainly of average working class people. The seventh ward located, like the first, on the edge of the city was large and was increasing in population faster than the inner city wards.

On election day, June 20, 1907, there were two issues on the ballot.

First, shall the proposition to organize the city of Des Moines under chapter 8 of the acts of the thirty-second General Assembly be adopted?

Second, shall the city of Des Moines erect a city hall at a cost not to exceed \$350,000?¹

Both issues passed, the voters approving the Des Moines Plan 6,376 to 4,087 and the construction of the new city hall, 5,573 to 4,594.²

A study of the precinct returns on page 104 revealed that the East side as a whole rejected, though barely, the Des Moines Plan while the West side adopted it by a 2.4 to

¹Ibid., p. 37.

²However, a decision by the Supreme Court on July 17, 1907, compelled another vote on this issue. The reason for this was because in the first vote the women were excluded from voting by the city administration. This was done in spite of the fact that the law provided that women of legal age might vote on any bond issue. The case was brought by Grace Ballantyne on behalf of the militant women suffragettes of the city. The second vote, like the first, was for the building /Brigham Johnson, History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1911), p. 405; See also, Des Moines Daily Capitol, May 14, 1907/.

Table I

VOTE ON THE DES MOINES PLAN¹

	Yes	No
1st Ward		
1	95	47
2	432	111
3	634	161
4	470	137

2nd Ward		
1	128	87
2	364	110
3	497	192

3rd Ward		
1	83	78
2	216	75
3	267	112
4	348	58
5	238	201

4th Ward		
1	145	202
2	129	124
3	265	178
4	216	78

5th Ward		
1	62	133
2	112	192
3	173	187
4	244	191

6th Ward		
1	72	67
2	113	188
3	187	171
4	317	275
5	171	156

7th Ward		
1	8	15
2	142	224
3	140	219
4	108	88

VOTE ON CITY HALL BUILDING²

	Yes	No
1st Ward		
1	45	89
2	254	289
3	467	316
4	236	336

2nd Ward		
1	103	104
2	256	206
3	277	395

3rd Ward		
1	87	65
2	148	132
3	182	183
4	209	194
5	184	222

4th Ward		
1	118	211
2	142	104
3	179	246
4	142	144

5th Ward		
1	133	58
2	206	91
3	219	79
4	292	130

6th Ward		
1	54	82
2	201	95
3	233	123
4	425	155
5	197	122

7th Ward		
1	3	21
2	197	162
3	279	154
4	103	80

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, June 21, 1907. See also: Des Moines Capitol, June 21, 1907.

²Des Moines Tribune, June 21, 1907.

one majority. To achieve a better understanding of these results a socio-economic breakdown of the precincts was developed. Since the actual list of those voting in the election had been discarded, it was impossible to have a true random sample of those participating in the election. In order to have some idea of the socio-economic breakdown of each voting precinct it became necessary to rely on the Des Moines City Directory of 1907. This Directory listed not only a person's name and address but also his occupation. By taking a random sample only of those names of men who had an occupation listed and then locating them in a voting precinct on the basis of their address, this established a sample socio-economic breakdown of those people living, but not necessarily voting, in that precinct.¹

The socio-economic breakdown consisted of placing the men on the basis of their occupation into one of five possible classes. Most of the decisions on which class a man belonged to were based on job status and his potential for influence in the community. For example, if a person was the president of a company, he was placed in Class I; if he was a laborer he was put in Class V. In the case of the three lower classes, in addition to the occupation, a wage breakdown based on the yearly wages paid each group

¹The sample was achieved by taking every fifteenth name that met the requirements of being male and having an address and occupation listed. If the fifteenth name had no address or occupation listed or was a female name, the next name down the list to meet the requirements was taken and then the sample was started from that point.

of workers was used.¹ (See Appendix H) So a worker such as a railroad engineer or bricklayer who earned over \$903.00 per year, which was \$120.00 above the average worker's wage, was placed in Class III. Workers like firemen or saw millers earning less than \$903.00 but more than \$663.00 were placed in Class IV, and workers such as laborers, cooks, or blacksmiths earning less than \$663.00 were placed in Class V. If a person's job was not listed in the Bureau of Labor Statistics Report, and it lacked sufficient status to be placed in Class I, it was placed into Class II which was to represent those of middle job status.

The result was that such occupations as the owner of a large company, the upper executive of the company, high state officials, physicians, lawyers, ministers, and teachers were assigned to Class I. While people with occupation titles like foreman, sales manager, owners of small businesses such as restaurant owner, saloon owner were placed in Class II.

By comparing the percentage of "no" votes in each precinct with the percentage representation of each class or combination of classes in the precinct, some interesting trends appear. (See Appendixes B, C, and G) The graphs revealed that the lower the class rating the greater the association between the "no" vote percentage and the class or classes percentage. This was, especially, true in the case of Class V and the combination of Classes IV and V,

¹Iowa Bureau of Labor, Thirteenth Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the State of Iowa for the Biennial Period, 1906-1907 (Des Moines: Emory H. English, State Printer, 1908), pp. 123-133.

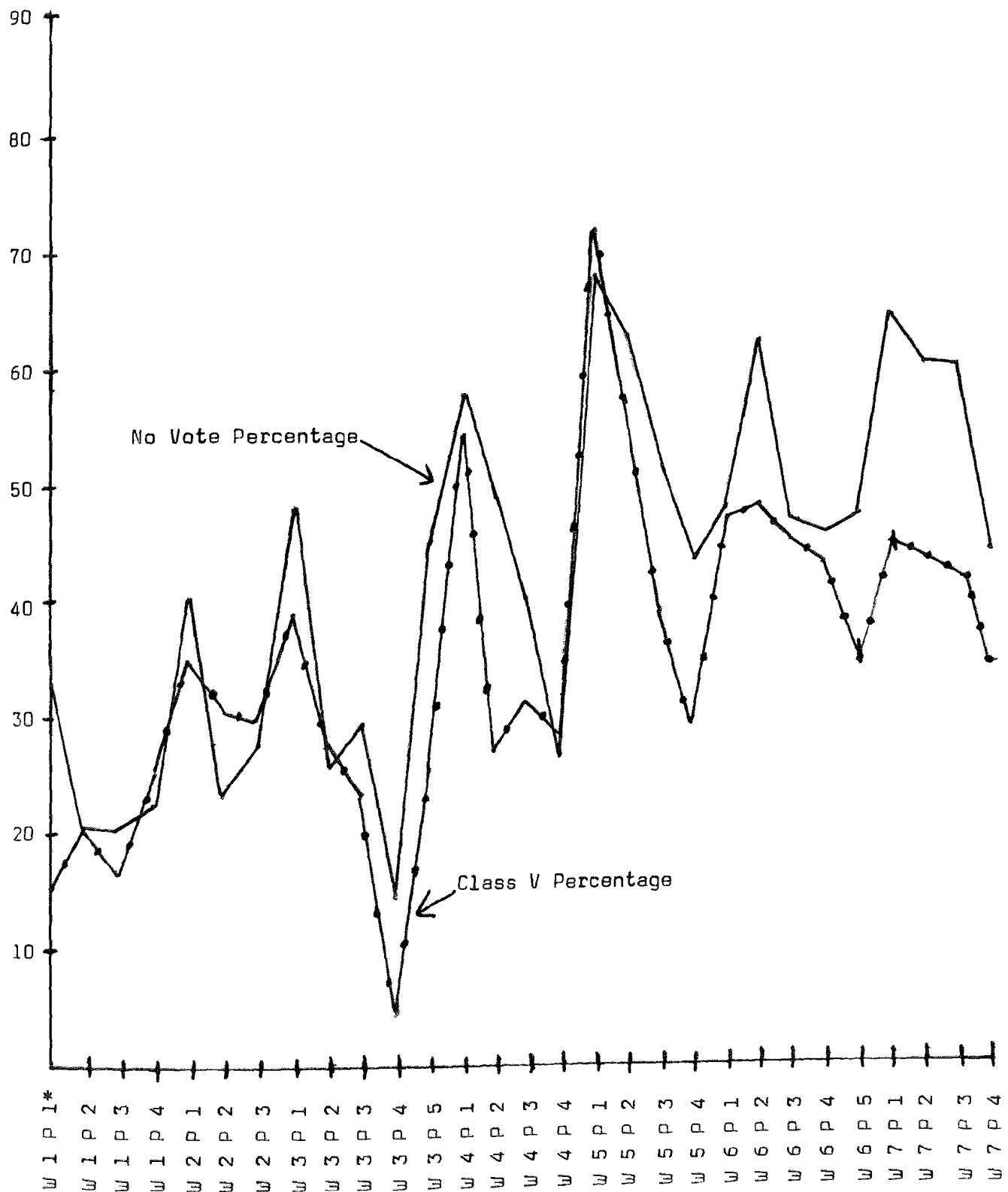
The point that was noticeable in the case of Class V and the combination of Classes IV and V is the close similarity between the class percentage and the percentage of "no" votes cast. (See pages 108 and 109) That is to say, that when the "no" vote peaks the class percentages peak, as is the case with the first precinct of every ward on the South side of the city, and if the "no" vote drops the class percentages drop, especially in the fourth precinct of the third ward. Here as in most of the fourth precincts of the city which were on the North side of the city, as the percentage of lower classes dropped so did the "no" vote.

However, there was one problem in this explanation. In the case of Class V comparison, it involves the first precinct of the first ward. The first precinct of the first ward had a moderate "no" vote percentage, yet the Class V percentage was low and so the comparison breakdown. The combination of Class IV and V presented a similar problem but in the opposite corner of the city in the fourth precinct of the seventh ward. Here the combination of Classes IV and V resulted in a relatively high class percentage, but the "no" vote percentage dropped resulting in a wide gap between the two.

There were several probable explanations for these discrepancies. One explanation involved the fact that the random sample may have missed enough individuals in the first precincts of the first ward to account for the fact that the

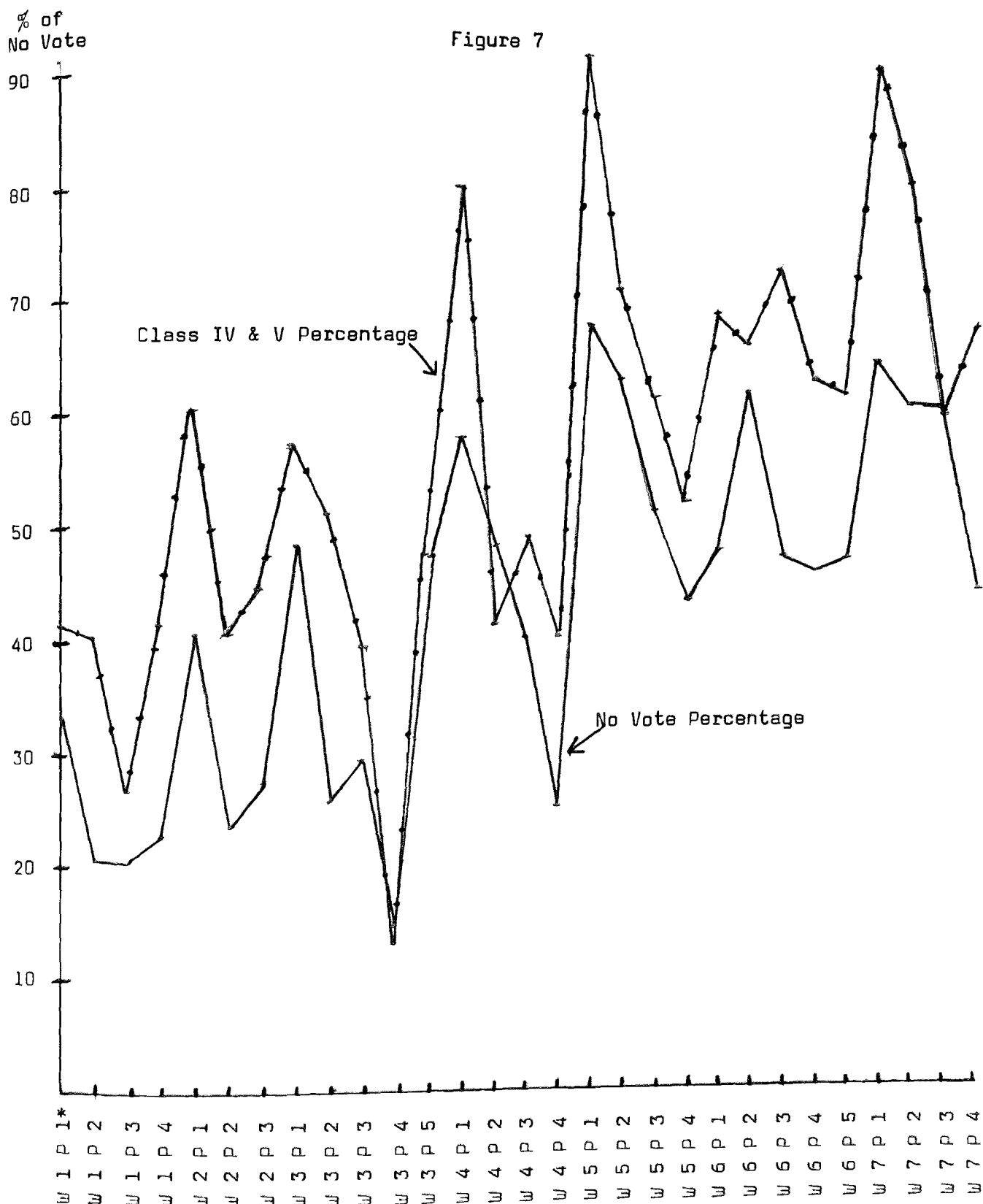
% of
No Vote

Figure 6



*W = Ward, P = Precinct

Graph of Class V Percentages
versus no vote Percentages



*W = Ward, P = Precinct

Graph of Classes IV and V Percentages
versus no vote Percentages

class percentage was not up when the percentage of "no" votes was. The opposite would be true for the combination of Classes IV and V. Another reason could be that other people in these two particular precincts voted in such a way as to throw the relationship off. An additional reason may have been the aforementioned East-West split. This is revealed in the city hall vote. It should be remembered that the city hall proposal was favorable to the East Side and we see a switch in the voting. In spite of this discrepancy, it appears from the study of the voters in the referendum that Joseph Huthmacker's thesis, that progressive measures received more support in the melting-pot wards (areas of high concentration of urban immigrants) than they received in the middle-class or rural constituencies, is somewhat in dispute as far as the city election on the adoption of the Des Moines Plan was concerned.¹ As mentioned above, the lower classes living in the southern precincts of the city had a greater tendency to vote "no," while the upper classes living in the Northern precincts voted in favor of the plan.

Yet inspite of the fact that the referendum was over and the plan had been adopted, its future was uncertain. Many constitutional issues had been raised in the campaign conducted by the opposition. So the friends of the plan decided immediately to bring a test case into the Courts to determine the plan's constitutionality.

¹J. Joseph Hutmacker, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," Progressivism--The Critical Issues, ed. David M. Kennedy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 81.

Chapter 8

The Court Battle

It was certain that at some time the Des Moines Plan would get into the courts. It was possible that the courts would have been appealed to prevent the newly elected commissioners from displacing the old city officials. Legal proceedings at such a time or at any later time when the city might be entering upon important improvements would be extremely embarrassing. So the supporters of the plan decided to bring a test case against the Des Moines Plan before the primary election was to take place on March 16th.¹ Their reasoning was that a suit at this time would involve a minimum of disturbance since it would clear the way for a peaceful administration of the city under the new plan if it was sustained or would prepare the city for a city election under the old plan if the plan was not upheld.

On October 10, 1907, injunction proceedings to test the constitutionality of the Des Moines Plan were begun.² It was the intention of the taxpayers bringing the suit to raise every objection to the law and plan that had been put forth by its opponents in the recently concluded campaign

¹Des Moines Daily News, October 8, 1907.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, October 11, 1907.

for the adoption of the plan. In the first place, the suit claimed that the law violated Article IV, Section 4, of the Federal Constitution which provided that the United States should guarantee to every state in the union a republican form of government. The opponents of the plan declared that the abolishment of ward lines, in principle at least, violated this provision of the nation's fundamental law. Secondly, the suit contended that section one of the new law, applying to cities of a population of 25,000 or more, violated Article III, Section 30, of the Iowa Constitution, which provided that the legislature should not pass local or special laws of any character. The allegation was that this law was special or class legislation, being applicable only to a few cities of the state. Thirdly, the plaintiff's petition claimed that the law violated Article III, Section 1, of the Iowa Consitution which provided for the separation of the governmental powers. It argued that the plan violated this provision by investing all powers in the council and establishing the initiative, the referendum and the recall.¹ Finally, the suit claimed that the plan violated Article II, Section 1, of the Iowa Constitution dealing with voters' suffrage and right to become a candidate for any elected office. The contention was that Section 5 of the plan required that in preparing the official primary ballot, no other names could be placed thereupon except the names

¹Ibid.

of those persons who had filed a statement of candidacy, accompanied by a nominating petition as the section provided; and the further provision which required that in preparing the official election ballot, the candidates successful at the primary would be the only candidates whose names could be placed upon the ballot. The argument was that the voter was unduly restricted in his right to be a candidate, and have votes cast for him counted.

The supporters of the Des Moines Plan who instituted the suit to determine the constitutionality of the plan assumed that the opponents of the plan would raise additional objections and join the plaintiffs in this test case. The opponents, represented by A. C. Parker, a prominent Des Moines lawyer, filed these objections to the plan on October 28, 1907. They charged first that this scheme of municipal government was contrary to the entire spirit of the constitution of the State of Iowa and the unwritten constitution, which guaranteed and protected the absolute rights of the people. Parker pictured the plan as an innovation upon the republican form of government expressed and guaranteed by the constitution of the State of Iowa and of the United States. Secondly, he complained that the plan was unconstitutional because it would give the people of the city the power to legislate through the use of initiative and referendum. The section that he claimed to be violated was Article III, Section 1, of the Iowa Constitution which provided that the legislative power of the

state should be vested in a general assembly which should consist of a senate and a house of representatives. He argued that this meant the general assembly alone had the power to legislate in the State of Iowa. Lastly, Mr. Parker asserted that the act was in violation of the article of the State Constitution which provided that the legislature should not pass special legislation for the assessment and collection of taxes for state, county, or road purposes. He pointed out that the plan granted to the council all of the legislative, judicial and administrative power which are possessed by the assessor, and was therefore special of local legislation since it applied to only a few cities.¹

On November 9, 1907, A. M. Huston, a local attorney and apparently acting on his own, filed a petition of intervention adopting the allegations of the plaintiff's petition and setting forth the additional allegation that the question of adopting the plan was illegally submitted to the electors of the city of Des Moines. Huston objected to the fact that the referendum on the adoption of the Des Moines Plan was conducted at the same time that the people were asked to vote on the bond issue for the new city hall. He argued that the Des Moines Plan had to be submitted to the voters as the only issue to be voted on.

On the 12th of November, the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Des Moines also filed a petition of

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, November 10, 1907.

intervention incorporating the complaints contained in the other petitions, and setting forth a further allegation that the Des Moines Plan, in so far as it applied to the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Des Moines, had been superseded by a subsequent act passed at the same session of the General Assembly. Chapter 42 provided for the election of three park commissioners in cities having a population of 40,000 or over. The Park Commissioners argued that even if the Des Moines Plan was constitutional and valid, Chapter 42 of the laws of the thirty-second General Assembly having been passed after Chapter 48, repealed so much of the provisions of Chapter 48 as were in conflict with the provisions of Chapter 42 and that, therefore, it became necessary to elect park commissioners as provided in Chapter 42.¹

On November 12, 1907, the case was brought before District Court Judge James A. Howe. The case was referred to as Eckerson vs City of Des Moines et al.² At the hearing the city was represented by City Solicitor William Bremner,

¹Eckerson vs City of Des Moines et al, XX, Cases at Law and in Equity--Supreme Court of the State of Iowa, (1908), p. 2; See also, Eckerson vs City of Des Moines et al, 1340, Appellants and Appellees Arguments, Supreme Court of Iowa, III (1908), pp. 3-4; Eckerson vs City of Des Moines et al, Arguments and Abstracts, (Supreme Court of Iowa, 1908), p. 4; Des Moines Daily News, November 8, 1907.

²The full title of the case was S. A. Eckerson, J. H. Johnson, George A. Boody vs City of Des Moines et al; A. M. Huston et al and Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Des Moines Interveners (Appellants, op. cit., p. 95).

Assistant Mose Cohan, Assistant W. A. McLaughlin, and I.M. Earle. The plaintiffs were represented by Sidney J. Dillon and Henry E. Sampson. Attorney Parker appeared for the petitioners of intervention and John Read for the Park Commissioners.¹ All of these lawyers entered an agreement before the court to the effect that the defeated party should appeal the case at once to the state Supreme Court so as to get it submitted at the January term.² Another interesting development on this day was the statement of I. M. Earle who said that it would be the contention of the defense that if some portion of the Des Moines Plan was found unconstitutional it would be stricken and the remainder permitted to stand. The effect of this would be that if the initiative and referendum, for instance, should be held unconstitutional, only that portion would be done away with.³ So it appeared that the reformers were willing to drop two of the most significant and meaningful reform measures of the plan in order to insure the survival of the whole plan. This statement also lends credence to the opposition charge that these reforms had been added to win the votes of the people and the reformers were not particularly fond of these measures. This appeared to be the case as neither initiative nor referendum were part of

¹Des Moines Daily News, November 12, 1907.

²Ibid.

³Des Moines Daily Capitol, November 12, 1907.

the original plan that was proposed in 1906, and they were added to the plan to help quiet the opposition (see Chapter 4) and win votes. The reformers also seemed to be willing to drop these points whenever the plan seemed to be in trouble because it embodied too many reforms at one time.

The defenders of the Des Moines Plan argued that the courts had nothing to do with whether the plan was reasonable or not but whether or not it was constitutional. They argued that the plan was republican because it placed government in the hands of the people and that the constitutional sections referred to be the plaintiffs pertained only to the state and the federal governments.¹ They concluded their arguments by saying that if there was any reasonable doubt as to whether the plan was unconstitutional, the plan should be given the "benefit of that doubt."²

On November 23rd, the Des Moines Plan scored another triumph when Judge Howe handed down a decision holding the plan constitutional on every major point raised by the plaintiffs except one. The decision declared that the provisions of the Federal Constitution guaranteeing a republican form of government involved in this case were a guarantee to the state and did not apply to a city.³ Judge Howe also ruled

¹Des Moines Daily News, November 8, 1907.

²Des Moines Daily Capitol, November 12, 1907; See also, Des Moines Daily News, November 12, 1907.

³Arguments and Abstracts, January Term, op. cit., p. 4.

that there was no ground for the claim that the law was special, local or class legislation.¹ In addition, Judge Howe held that Article III, Section 1, of the State Constitution of Iowa related only to the government of the State and did not affect the government of cities.² On the issue that the primary election held for the purpose of selecting the candidates for mayor and councilmen, abridged the right of the citizen to hold office and limited his choice of candidates, the court held that there was no violation of the general election laws since there was no restriction on writing in a person's name.³ On the plaintiff's claim that the special election was illegal because of the submission to the voters of the proposal to build a new city hall, the court found that there was nothing in the law prohibiting the electors passing upon two questions on the same day and "in the absence of such a provision the court would not be justified in holding the election void on this ground."⁴ The decision also disposed of the Park Commissioners complaint by saying that:

Had the legislature intended to repeal Chapter 48 of the Acts of the thirty-second General Assembly, or any part thereof, it

¹Ibid., p. 7.

²Ibid., pp. 8-9.

³Ibid., p. 10.

⁴Ibid.,

would undoubtedly have said so....Clearly the park commissioners have been legislated out of office. When the new plan begins their powers end; the functions of their offices are a part of the birthright of the new system of government.¹

However, the court did not resolve one issue, that of the constitutionality of "recall", "initiative", and "referendum". The court argued that the action was to prevent the holding of an election for the purpose of electing the new officials under the provisions of the Des Moines Plan. The decision said that these three sections could not be challenged, "until after the new officers are elected, and the new government put into operation,..." Therefore, as far as this case was concerned these "questions are purely academic, and therefore are not determined."² The court concluded its decision with the following words, which also agreed with the arguments of the defendants:

It is elementary that state legislative power is plenary, and that he who would challenge a legislative enactment must be able to specify a particular provision of the Constitution which deprives the legislature of the power to pass the act; also that it is the duty of the court to reconcile the statutes with the Constitution when it can be done without doing violence to the language of either, and in all cases of doubt the doubt must be resolved in favor of the constitutionality of the statutes. Considering and analyzing this act section by section the court is unable to say that it is in conflict with the letter of the Constitution and therefore sustains the law.³

¹Ibid., p. 14.

²Ibid., p. 12.

³Ibid., pp. 14-15.

The decision of the District Court, when it was appealed to the state Supreme Court, was upheld in the high court's decision written by Judge Charles A. Bishop and handed down on February 18, 1908.¹ The opinion of the Supreme Court not only upheld all of the points in Judge Howe's ruling but also ruled on recall, initiative and referendum. On the recall section, the court held that, "public offices are created in the interests of the general public, and not for the benefit of any individual, and no one in possession of an office has a constitutional right to remain therein for the full period of the term for which he was elected."² On the question of initiative and referendum, the high court argued that the legislature could provide that a popular vote could be resorted to in the enactment of municipal law. The courts reasoning was that, "there is certainly no provision of our Constitution which expressly, or by reasonable inference, prohibits it."³ With this decision, the question of the Des Moines Plan's constitutionality was settled. The two Iowa cities of Des Moines and Cedar Rapids, proceeded to elect and install their commissioners.

This triumph of the Des Moines Plan in the courts meant that the reformers were one step closer to achieving

¹Des Moines Daily News, February 19, 1908; See also, Des Moines Daily Capitol, February 18, 1908.

²Appellants, op. cit., p. 481

³Ibid., p. 484.

their goal of reforming what they considered to be a major flaw in American cities, that is poor city government.

The Des Moines Plan was just one of many different plans that were being advocated at this time to deal with this problem. Whether or not the Des Moines Plan was going to be successful could only be determined by its operation.

Chapter 9

The First Election Under the Des Moines Plan

While the fate of the Des Moines Plan was being decided in the courts, all the city's newspapers and the rest of the city tried to prepare themselves for the first primary election under the Des Moines Plan to be held on March 16, 1908. After this election, the ten finalist candidates would compete for the five elective positions at the final election held two weeks later. It appeared from an editorial in the Unionist that the opponents of the Des Moines Plan were determined to make the "best of the circumstances and by putting their shoulders to the wheel making the plan a success."¹ The reformers, on the other hand, appeared to enter into a debate as to who should be the first commissioners and which areas of the city should be represented.

John Hamilton, in a letter to MacVicar dated November 15, 1907, revealed some of the problems the reformers were having.² He noted that a hold-over committee of fifteen of the Committee of 300 citizens consisting of J. W. Hill,

¹ Editorial, Iowa Unionist, June 21, and November 15, 1907.

² Hamilton to MacVicar, November 15, 1907 (John MacVicar Papers, Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa, Box M252, Vol. 2).

H. A. Miller, George M. Van Evera, George Cowles, John Cownie, I. M. Earle, Harvey Ingham, E. A. Kye, Lafe Young, Sr., B. S. Walker, Sidney Dillon, J. G. Olmsted, Eugene Waterbury, E. W. Crellin, and J. J. Hamilton, decided to appoint "a sub-committee of seven to canvass the situation as to candidates for commissioners and report back to this committee for endorsement of their action to be endorsed by the Committee of 300 and the three daily newspapers and the public."¹ Hamilton continued that it had been suggested that it would be wise to let the situation develop naturally, without private manipulation. However, "Ingham said that would do after the first election, but this time we must act together and put the new law in the hands of its friends; otherwise W. W. Wise and W. H. Brereton would take charge and run the city."² Also

¹The first sub-committee consisted of George M. Van Evera, J. W. Hill, Harvey Ingham, Lafayette Young, I. M. Earle, Sidney J. Dillon and J. G. Olmsted.

²I. M. Earle, a prominent figure in the movement, put the point more precisely. "When the plan was adopted it was the intention to get businessmen to run it" (Des Moines Register and Leader, January 19, 1908). In an Editorial the Des Moines Register and Leader expressed the same idea.

"It is of course the privilege of every citizen to have his name presented. The new law is extremely liberal in this regard. There is no prescription. But because of this there is no reason why those who have been active to secure a change from factionalism and partisan administration should not act intelligently in concert for the purpose of securing a well balanced and able body of commissioners, men who consider it some sacrifice to give the time and who will have no ends to serve but to secure to the city the sort of business administration that has been promised" /Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, December 16, 1907; See also, Editorial, Des Moines Daily Capitol, January 6, 1908; Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, November 28, 1907; Editorial, Des Moines Register

at this meeting of the Committee of Fifteen, it was decided that the three dailies would be consulted and support the candidates put forth by the committee.

MacVicar replied to Hamilton three days later and said that he felt that:

the move of Inghams; is not a wise one for his plans. It cannot possible be conducted secretly, and if only a part of the movement is made known, the average voter will shy at it, and imagine all kinds of things. Then it will not be possible to get a slate through the committee of 300 without a serious split.¹

It soon became evident that "Harvey's machine" was running poorly and that the union of the three dailies was on the verge of breaking up over the question of who was going to serve on the city's first commission.

In early January, President J. W. Hill and Secretary Sidney J. Dillon of the Committee of 300 sent letters to each of the members of the Committee of 300. Each member was expected to choose five men from the list of thirty-five names and return them to Secretary Dillon.² The five

and Leader, December 9, 1907; and Hamilton to MacVicar, November 15, 1907 (John MacVicar Papers, Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa, Box M252, Vol. 2)7.

¹MacVicar to Hamilton, November 18, 1907, Ibid.

²The list was as follows: J. C. Cummins,* Ira M. Earle,* Jerry B. Sullivan,* Buffon S. Walker, Al C. Miller, Edward D. Brigham, A. J. Mathis, J. G. Olmsted,* George L. Garton, Leonard Harback,* H. U. Keasey, Charles S. Worth,* John W. Budd, John MacVicar, Simon Casasy,* J. Wesley Ash, Charles L. Gilcrest, John McKay, Henry M. Rollins,* Harry C. Wallace,* C. E. Campbell,* I. Friedlick, W. H. Bremner,*

receiving the highest number of votes was to be the ticket backed by the Committee of 300.¹ However, it appeared that this method of choosing candidates did not produce the desired results for John MacVicar led the list with seventy-two votes for Commissioner and was third in the Mayor nominations with thirty-nine. Other proposed candidates for the commission who received a significant number of votes in this poll of the Committee of 300 were Charles Worth--71, A. K. Stewart--45, Jerry Sullivan--43, Buffon S. Walker--41, Eugene Waterbury--38, A. J. Mathis--36, and James R. Hanna--12 votes. In the mayor's poll, MacVicar trailed both I. M. Earle with forty-six votes and Waterbury with forty-four.² At a meeting of the Committee of 300 held on the evening of January 17, 1908, the committee reported that it was having difficulty in selecting and getting the consent of five men who could be elected.³ So it was recommended that another week for considering the matter be taken and that the Committee of Fifteen was to report back on the 24th of January. Lafe Young, of the Committee of Fifteen, then moved that the committee be

H. H. Coggeshall, W. H. Bailey, George M. Van Evera, James W. Donovan,* John B. Lucas, W. B. Keffer, Nathan E. Coffin, A. K. Stewart, D. H. Kooker, A. B. Elliott,* I. M. Lieser, and Eugene Waterbury.

*Those refusing to run.

¹Des Moines Daily News, January 4, 1908.

²Des Moines Register and Leader, January 18, 1908;
See also, Des Moines Daily News, January 18, 1908.

³"150 men were present." Des Moines Daily Capitol, January 18, 1908; See also, Des Moines Register and Leader, January 18, 1908.

enlarged to a new sub-committee of twenty-five to handle this matter. This motion was adopted.¹ The Committee of Twenty-five also took action toward adding 200 names to the Committee of 300, making the total 500.²

This larger sub-committee apparently proved to be to cumbersome, for a sub-committee of seven of the sub-committee of twenty-five was appointed on the 21st of January to finish the job of selecting the men to seek election to the first commission.³ The next day the names of five men recommended by the sub-committee of seven were unanimously endorsed by the Committee of Twenty-five. They were Eugene Waterbury for mayor; Charles Worth, president of Bloomfield Coal Company; James B. Hanna, member of the library board and a professor at Highland Park College; Buffon S. Walker, member of the library board and real estate broker; and Harry C. Evans, president of the Jefferson Club and organizer for the Brotherhood of American Yeoman for commissioners.⁴ This was to be the businessmen's

¹The enlarged sub-committee consisted of John M. Read, Johnson Brigham, S. F. Dunshee, Charles N. Page, C. L. Gilcrest, H. B. Hawley, A. K. Campbell, George Boody, Paul Jones, T. F. Stevenson, W. H. Arnold, Mack Olsen, Pleasant Mills, J. H. Henry, James Donovan, H. E. Teachout, S. B. Garton, Frank Randolph, W. H. Baily, A. O. Hange, C. W. Terrill, E. D. Hamlin, H. C. Evans, H. E. Sampson, and Henry A. Hass /Brigham Johnson, History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1911), p. 402/.

²Des Moines Daily Capitol, January 18, 1908.

³John Read, F. S. Dunshee, H. B. Hawley, H. E. Teachout, Johnson Brigham, George Boody, and J. L. Randall (Des Moines Daily News, January 21, 1908).

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, January 22, 1908.

ticket and according to the Capitol was strongly endorsed at the meeting of the Committee of 530 on the 24th, in spite of the shouting of a gang trained to hoot for MacVicar.¹ This should have ended the reformer's debate, but an irreparable split in the union of the three daily newspapers occurred. The News which had endorsed the candidacy of John MacVicar for commissioner felt that MacVicar was opposed only by Harvey Ingham and Lafe Young.² It also felt that Ingham and Young had manipulated the number of members of the nomination committee so as to eliminate John MacVicar from the field. This appears to be the case. A comparison of the votes received by MacVicar and the four men nominated as the businessmen's ticket taken by the Committee of 300 on the 17th of January and the vote of the Committee of 530 shows that MacVicar lost considerable ground in the vote of the Committee of 530.

	Committee of 300	Committee of 530
John MacVicar	72	79
Charles Worth	71	164
B. S. Walker	41	150
James R. Hanna	12	130
Harry C. Evans	--	106

¹230 more names were added to the Committee of 300 as a result of the recommendations of the sub-committee of twenty-five (Des Moines Daily Capitol, January 25, 1908).

<u>For Mayor</u>		<u>For Councilmen</u>	
Eugene Waterbury	132	Charles S. Worth	164
John MacVicar	12	B. S. Walker	150
A. J. Mathis	7	James R. Hanna	130
Silas B. Allen	7	Harry C. Evans	106
		John MacVicar	79

²Des Moines Daily News, January 16, 1908.

In addition to this, the nomination of Worth was interesting. During the campaign for the adoption of the Des Moines Plan, the Bloomfield Coal Company appeared to oppose the plan as it advertized exclusively in the Tribune. (See Appendix A) This further strengthens the argument that Ingham and Young had made some sort of a deal with the public service corporations to stop their opposition to the Des Moines Plan in return for giving them a sort of veto power over who was going to serve on the commission. So MacVicar was not to be a candidate for commissioner on the businessmen's ticket-- also referred to as the Des Moines Plan ticket, citizen's ticket, or people's ticket. The fact that MacVicar was denied a spot on the ticket appeared to spell an end to the alliance of the city's three papers. The bitterness of the News was reflected in an editorial on January 27, 1908:

A referendum vote was taken of the committee of 300. Although a little slow in announcing the result of this vote, the secretary was prodded by the News into the announcement. And Lo, John MacVicar Led the List!

By all the rules of honorable action the committee should have given Mr. MacVicar its endorsement, and it would have done so had it not been for the smooth and sleek politicians who were able to fool the committee of 300. Now for the next move of the politicians. Easy enough. 'Increase the committee to 530.' We have the selection of the names. We can easily leave the friends of John MacVicar out of 'that additional list of 230.' It worked.

When it came to the vote the hands of the politicians were again revealed. The Ballots were printed in advance. A show of fairness was made by leaving blank lines

on the ticket for additional names. The politicians knew that those opposed to the ticket would have no chance to caucus and that the opposition vote would necessarily be scattering. Presto. Again it worked.¹

As a result of the failure of MacVicar's campaign in the Committee of 530, the News joined the Tribune, the Democratic Chronicle, the Iowa Unionist, and Plain Talk in attacking the businessmen's ticket and its selection as undemocratic and violating the spirit of the new law.² The ticket was further criticized because there was no labor candidate. Also criticized, especially by the Tribune, was the fact that the East side of Des Moines, had exercised equal influence in city politics for years, had only one man selected for the commission, Charles Worth. Yet, the Register and Leader wrote that "favorable comment was heard on every side yesterday on the action of the Committee of 530."³

Soon the field was full of candidates and slates. There was a Democrat slate, city hall slate, civic league ticket, scratcher slate, prohibitionist's slate, and a score of individual candidates, foremost among them being

¹Editorial, Des Moines Daily News, January 27, 1908; See also, Hamilton to MacVicar, November 20, 1907, MacVicar Papers, Vol. II, op. cit.

²Iowa Unionist, January 31, 1908; See also, Des Moines Democratic Chronicle, February 6, 1908.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, January 26, 1908.

John MacVicar.¹ Also the Des Moines campaign attracted considerable interest in other Iowa cities--notably Cedar Rapids, Davenport, and Sioux City. Proponents of the commission even charged that the returns of the Des Moines election would determine the future of the commission plan outside of Iowa.² So the campaign started to heat up in the amount of rhetoric used as to which group of men would make the best commission.

However, the campaign was not particularly noteworthy outside of the fact that there were just five elective positions. Most of the campaign rhetoric and literature

¹The City Hall Ticket consisted of John McKay, W. H. Brereton, John Budd, and John Lucas (Des Moines Register and Leader, March 14, 1908).

The Civic League Ticket was made up of Eugene W. Waterbury, James R. Hanna, Buffon S. Walker, Charles Worth, E. D. Brigham, J. L. Hamery, I. M. Lieser, J. B. Lucas, John MacVicar, C. W. Schramm, and A. K. Stewart (Des Moines Register and Leader, March 8, 1908).

The Democratic Ticket was comprised of Judge A. J. Mathis, A. K. Stewart, H. C. Evans, J. L. Hamery, and John MacVicar (Des Moines Democratic Chronicle, February 6 and 20, 1908).

The Prohibitionists Ticket had H. C. Evans, J. R. Hanna, I. M. Lieser, and Charles Worth for commissioners. No endorsement was made for mayor (Des Moines Daily News, March 12, 1908).

Unionist Candidates were Wesley Ash, John McKay, J. W. Budd, J. L. Hamery, S. B. Garton, W. H. Brereton, Silas B. Allen, H. U. Keasey, John W. Ray, Ed Crawford, J. H. Uetz, Charles Gillbride, I. M. Lieser, Charles W. Schramm, Dan O'Grady, M. M. Robertson, A. J. Mathias, John MacVicar (Iowa Unionist, March 14, 1908).

The Scratcher Slate was Eugene Waterbury, John MacVicar, J. R. Hanna, A. K. Stewart (Des Moines Daily Capitol, February 28, 1908).

²Cedar Rapids had adopted the plan while Davenport and Sioux City had rejected it (Des Moines Register and Leader, January 29, 1908; See also, Des Moines Tribune, January 28, 1908).

was uninteresting. In fact, one candidate for commissioner, Harry C. Evans, tried to liven up the campaign by accusing Henry Wadsworth Longfellow of plagiarism in his poem "Hiawatha."¹ This charge was debated for several days in the papers and finally dropped. Political meetings were held in every part of the city at which the candidates made speeches, held debates and were questioned by the citizens and received endorsements of the various clubs. There was the usual mud slinging and charges of cheating and lavish spending by the candidates. However, the major issues of the primary campaign were first of all the Des Moines Plan Ticket and its supporters; secondly, the candidacy of John MacVicar.

The issue of the Des Moines Plan Ticket and its supporters was by far the major issue of the campaign. The supporters of the slate, led by Harvey Ingham, Lafe Young, and the campaign committee of ten, defended their creation by saying that the men were selected with reference to their compatibility and with reference to the geography of the city.² They argued that all they had done was make a good guess as to which five men would make the best commissioners. The voters could select any five men from the list of fifty-two candidates and most would

¹Evans said "Hiawatha" was copied from "Kalevala" the Finnish epic. Longfellow had admitted the similiarity earlier (Des Moines Register and Leader, February 12, 1908).

²Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, March 9, 1908.

be good. However, they contended that if all nominations were made at random, this would result in the election of commissioners who were incompetent or who could not work together. So they argued why not accept the judgment of a committee who had studied the men.¹ Ingham and Young became so dedicated to the success of the Des Moines Plan Ticket that they argued that the election of the ticket would be accepted everywhere as a triumph for non-factional and non-political administration, while whether justly or not the defeat of the ticket would be hailed as a defeat for the Des Moines Plan idea.² The Des Moines Plan Ticket's platform was:³

First---Equality in taxation.

Second---The strict regulation of public service corporations and the fixing of fair and just prices for all public service.

Third---A dollar's worth of benefit for every dollar of taxes.

Fourth---Honesty, economy and efficiency in the city's business.

Fifth---The impartial enforcement of the law.

Though the ticket picked up the endorsement of the good government club, which was for clean city government, this was not significant as many members of this club were also members of the Committee of 530.⁴

¹Editorial, Des Moines Daily Capitol, March 2 and 7, 1908; See also, Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, February 23, 1908.

²Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, February 20, 1908.

³Des Moines Daily Capitol, February 8, 1908.

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, March 12, 1908.

The opposition to the "silk Sox" slate, as the News, Tribune, and Unionist called the Des Moines Plan Ticket, consisted of the other forty-seven candidates and especially John MacVicar. They objected to the fact that a self-appointed committee should try to tell the voters who to vote for. Labor also objected to the fact that the chairman, John Read, an attorney for the Des Moines City Railway Company, helped select the candidates of the businessmen's ticket.¹ For this reason they started to refer to the slate as the Ingham-Young-Hippee slate.² The opposition felt, as the Tribune put it, that the slate

was in no sense a 'Des Moines Plan Ticket' because the plan was devised for the purpose of eliminating politics from city elections and giving to the voters the greatest freedom in the selection of their public servants. Ingham and Young have undertaken to destroy the original purpose of the plan and utilize it for their own benefit.³

This was leading to a situation, according to the opposition, in which Des Moines was being laughed at by other cities because the authors and promoters of the Des Moines Plan had introduced into this campaign the Tammany kind of politics they were supposed to be getting rid of.⁴

Each side accused the other of unfair methods in the campaign. The Des Moines Plan Ticket was accused of

¹Des Moines Daily News, March 13, 1908.

²George Hippee was the General Manager of the Des Moines Railway Company.

³Editorial, Des Moines Tribune, March 12, 1908.

⁴Editorial, Des Moines Tribune, February 20, 1908.

spending money, whose source was a mystery, lavishly in flooding the city with literature.¹ Both sides accused the other of trying to confuse the voters with false and misleading stories.²

The other major issue of the primary campaign was the candidacy of John MacVicar. MacVicar, a former mayor of Des Moines, was able, informed, and strongly opposed to public-service corporations, favoring either municipal ownership of such utilities as the water works or a strong regulation of these corporations. However, the Register and Leader and the Capitol both attacked MacVicar as being too radical and unable to function well as a commissioner. Yet MacVicar, though himself a Republican, received the support of the Democratic Chronicle as well as the Unionist, the Tribune, and the News in his fight to win a seat on the new commission.³ So the curious campaign went on with two of the city's three Republican papers opposed to the strongest Republican candidate in the field.

The only other notable incident of the primary election campaign was the decision of City Solicitor

¹Des Moines Daily News, March 11, 1908.

²Des Moines Tribune, February 14, and March 14, 1908; See also, Des Moines Register and Leader, March 14, 1908, and Des Moines Daily News, February 8, 1908.

³This was one of the strange situations in the primary campaign. MacVicar, a Republican, was opposed by the two major Republican papers, the Register and Leader and the Capitol, while being supported by the other Republican paper the News along with the Tribune and the Democratic Chronicle.

William H. Bremmer that registration was not necessary and that voters not registered could be sworn in at the polls by signing an affidavit of eligibility.¹ This opinion led to rumors that there would be attempts at fraudulent voting by repeaters, chain voting and fraud by the clerks at the primary election.² All sides in the election pledged honesty. Mayor Mattern swore in fifty special deputies to insure an honest election. The Civic League used the offer of rewards and the threat of prosecution under the election law of Iowa which carried heavy fines to deter violators.³ On the day of the election, March 16th, as the people were going to the polls, the Register and Leader ran ominous sounding headlines, such as, "Election crook in penitentiary, Attempts at Fraud Today will be Dangerous, Pinkerton Enlisted to Catch Crooks."⁴

The outcome of the primary election (see Appendix D) was almost a complete rejection of the citizen's ticket by

¹Des Moines Daily News, March 3, 1908.

²The chain ballot was managed by securing from the judge an official ballot with the judges stamp thereon. The ward healer then marks it as he wishes it voted and gives it to the man whose vote he has purchased. The man enters the voting place, secures another ballot unmarked from the judge, enters the voting booth and after remaining there for a short time, emerges and votes the marked ballot and returns the blank ballot to the ward healer when he receives his pay on the outside. This is proof that he has voted.

³Des Moines Register and Leader, March 16, 1908;
See also, Des Moines Daily News, March 15, 1908.

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, March 16, 1908.

the voters. Even though the Capitol proclaimed that "the Des Moines Plan Ticket proved to be a winner except for the defeat of Harry C. Evans," a close study of the election returns revealed that the ticket was in serious trouble. Not only was A. J. Mathis almost 2,000 votes ahead of Eugene Waterbury, 5,539 to 3,567 in the mayor's race, but in the commission race only one Des Moines Plan Ticket candidate, Charles S. Worth, was in the top four finalist. The top vote getter in the primary election was John MacVicar with 6,399 votes. The other seven nominees in order of votes received were:

John L. Hamery	3,742
Wesley Ash	3,490
Charles S. Worth	3,243
James R. Hanna	2,724
Buffon S. Walker	2,248
Charles W. Schramm	2,238
W. H. Brereton	2,085

The other forty-two candidates received votes ranging all the way from 2,050 to 23 votes. That the ticket was in serious trouble was recognized by the Register and Leader when its editor wrote the "if there is to be a general rallying of all the forces of opposition it is apparent that they will not be elected."¹

With the field down to ten men, the final campaign, which was to last two weeks, became one of the citizen's ticket versus the field led by John MacVicar and A. J. Mathis. The Register and Leader and the Capitol continued

¹Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, March 18, 1908.

their attacks on MacVicar by claiming that he wanted to build his own political machine in Des Moines. The opposition, likewise, charged Ingham and Young with wanting to establish a machine by electing their slate. The two papers also expanded their attack to include Police Judge Mathis. They felt that the office of mayor called for executive ability and energy of a "higher order than we have any reason to believe that Judge Mathis possesses."¹ They also received support in their attack on Judge Mathis from John Jay Hamilton, one of the chief supporters of MacVicar. Hamilton charged that while Mathis was police judge he was extremely lenient "on women of houses of ill fame."² Why Hamilton raised this issue is a mystery. It served no visible purpose outside of a possible attempt to discredit Mathis and hold his vote down so as to make MacVicar look stronger. However, once this issue was raised a campaign of filth was soon indulged in by all sides. Hamilton himself was attacked for not bringing this issue to the people's attention while he was editor of the Daily News.³ All of

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, March 19, 1908.

²Mayor Mattern, when asked about the city's handling of prostitution, replied, "it is perfectly well known that the system of license fines for this business (prostitution) is made effective by co-operation at the police station. The police force arrests the women once a month, they go to the police court, the police judge fines them \$10 per girl and \$15 or \$25 for the madame and they are not molested until the next month when the process is repeated (Des Moines Register and Leader, March 22, 1908).

³Iowa Unionist, March 28, 1908; See also, Des Moines Daily News, March 27, 1908; Des Moines Tribune, March 27, 1908.

the candidates were soon making charges and counter charges on this "social evil." Other issues such as violations of campaign laws and increased partisanship also became more prolific in the final days of the campaign.¹

On election day as the possibility of the citizen's ticket or any member of it being elected became quite remote, the Register and Leader made one last attempt at discrediting the field by charging that Mathis, MacVicar, Ash and Brereton were the slate backed by the city hall.² Despite this last ditch effort, the results of the election showed that the citizen's ticket met complete defeat.³

For Mayor:			
Mathis	9,197	Waterbury	5,260
For Commissioner:			
MacVicar	9,898	Worth	5,929
Ash	8,394	Hanna	4,896
Hamery	7,675	Brereton	4,719
Schramm	7,537	Walker	3,575 ⁴

A study of the final and primary election of just the ten finalist candidates in the order that they finished in each of the precincts reveals that the citizen's ticket lost support on both sides of the river in the final election. (See Appendix F) For example, Waterbury had finished as one of

¹The Daily News felt that the citizen's ticket had violated the law when they filed campaign expenses totaling \$122.32 which did not seem to fit their lavish campaign (Des Moines Daily News, March 26 and 27, 1908).

²Des Moines Register and Leader, March 20, 1908.

³Des Moines Daily Capitol, March 31, 1908; See also, Des Moines Register and Leader, March 31, 1908; Des Moines Daily News, April 1, 1908.

⁴Des Moines Register and Leader, March 31, 1908.

the top five vote getters twelve out of a possible sixteen times in the primary election on the West side and three out of thirteen on the East side. However, in the final election Waterbury placed only four times in the top five on the West side while he failed to place at all on the East side. Meanwhile Mathis was finishing in the top five twenty-six out of a possible twenty-nine times in primary elections and twenty-five out of twenty-nine in the final election. The rest of the citizen's ticket faired no better than Waterbury and they went down to defeat.

The men elected appeared to be a good commission on the surface. They were well distributed geographically. The West side had three in MacVicar, Hamery, and Schramm, and the East side two, Ash and Mayor Mathis. MacVicar was the most conspicuous member of the new council as a previous mayor of Des Moines and secretary of the League of Municipalities. He had a good understanding of the city's condition and some ideas as how to improve it, and he had long been a leader in the movement for city ownership of the water works. Hamery, a realtor of moderate means, was well-known for his zeal in the cause of municipal reform as an alderman in the old council. Schramm, as city assessor under the old council, owned his success at the polls to his attempts to achieve more just taxation of the public service corporations. Mathis' leniency as a police judge had served as a campaign issue but this did not seem to bother the voters of Des Moines. Ash, a former deputy

sheriff, was labor's man since he had been a miner and was an active member of the miners' union. Overall there was no tendency discernible to choose the commissioners from any one section of the city, nor from any one profession or class. However, most of the new commissioners were experienced officeholders. This failure to bring forward a new type of public official--the businessman--was a disappointment to the supporters of the citizen's ticket.

As can be expected both the editors of the Capitol and the Register and Leader expressed this disappointment. Lafe Young wrote that the:

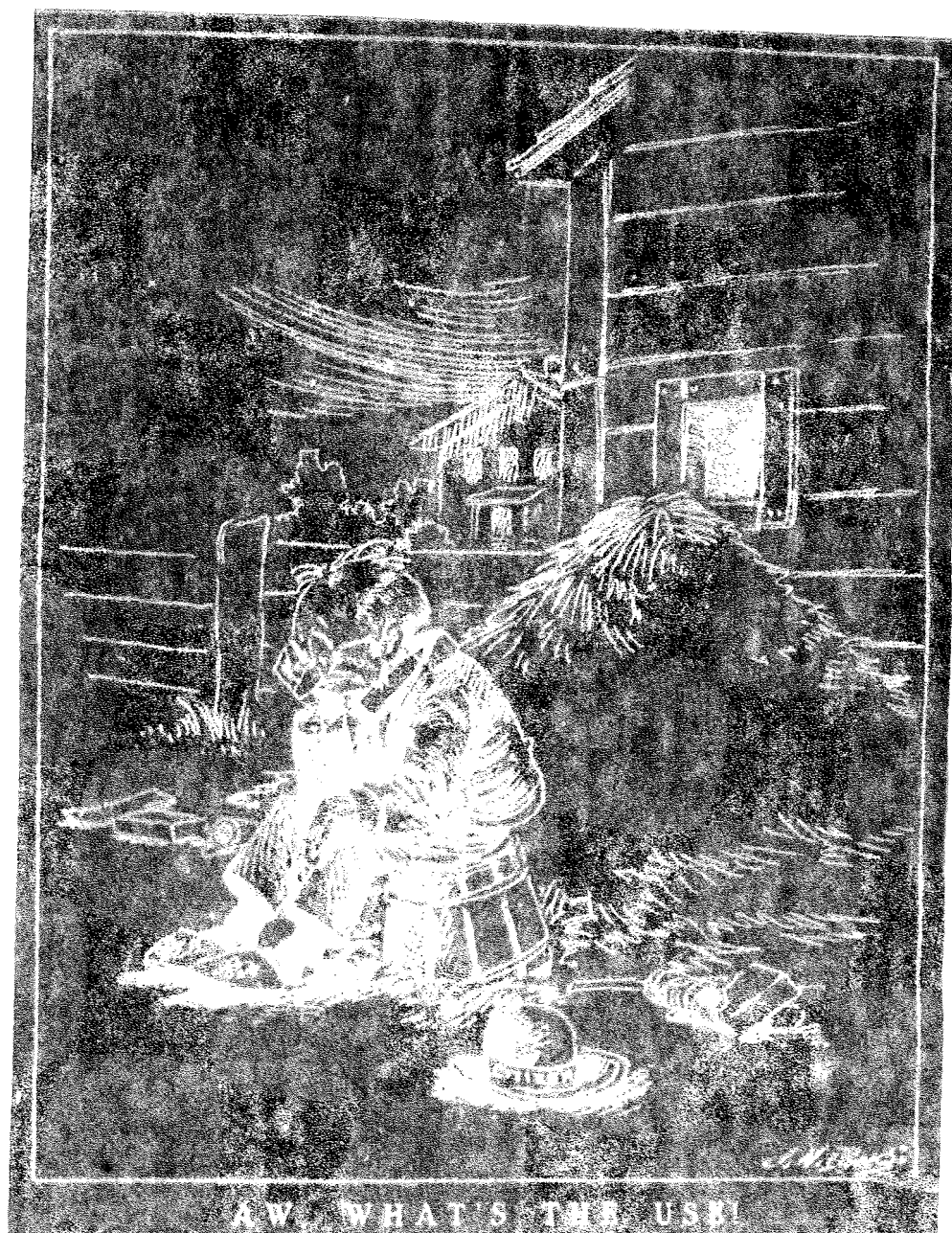
...voters accepted the suggestion of the plan, but accepted somebody's else suggestion as to the men. In other words, there was enough of the old political spirit remaining to rally from a defeat which the Des Moines Plan involved for them and win a victory in the selection of the commissioners. Now the scene shifts. The responsibility is now no longer upon the Des Moines Plan committee. It is on the commission.¹

Harvey Ingham's paper appeared even more disquieted with the election results as the front page cartoon pictured a citizen seating dejectedly on a pail with the caption "Aw, What's the Use!" (see page 141). Ingham also tried to offer some reasons for the ticket's defeat.

Innumeralbe incidental influences contributed to the result. It was impossible to find a man who could not mention a half dozen without at least labor. (Meaning that the labor vote apparently stood behind

¹Editorial, Des Moines Capitol, March 31, 1908.

Figure 8



Darling's Front Page Cartoon Showing the
Register and Leader's Disappointment
of the Final Election Results¹

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, March 31, 1908.

Ash) One man mentioned Hamilton's attacks on the social evil, another the charge by the Mathis--MacVicar--Ash slate that the Des Moines Plan candidates were on a slate and still another fact that Waterbury had signed a brewery petition once. Others that the Des Moines Plan candidates made no campaign, while the opposition slate was thoroughly organized for the fight as if it were a partisan election. Many suggested that the labor vote stood together for the Ash slate, while still others attributed the result to the fact that East Des Moines stuck by its candidates and that the democrats voted in a body for the democrat who was running while the Republicans observed the spirit of the plan and divided their vote.¹

In addition to these reasons, Ingham could also have attributed the loss of the Des Moines Plan Ticket to the very creation of the slate. This scheme of telling the voters who to vote for, once it became the issue of the campaign could have been a decisive factor in the slate's defeat because it may have made the voter suspicious of Ingham and Young's motives. Especially when they had apparently excluded such a popular candidates as MacVicar from the slate.

The formal change of city government from mayor-council to commission occurred on June 6, 1908. Retiring Mayor Mattern administered the oath of office to his successor then Mayor Mathis administered the oath to the incoming councilmen. Fortunately, there was no conflict

¹Editorial, Des Moines Register and Leader, March 31, 1908.

about assignments among the new commissioners. The mayor's department under the commission plan, the department of public affairs, was assigned to him by law. This department was composed of the legal department, municipal court, city clerk's office and municipal garage. In addition to these the mayor appointed, with the approval of the council, the following commissions and boards--Board of Adjustment, City Plan Commission, Civil Service Commission, Comfort Station Commission, Housing Commission, Park Board, Playground Commission, Smoke Abatement Commission and Wrestling Commission.

The Department of Streets and Public Improvements was the choice of Commissioner MacVicar. The Department had charge of the construction, repair, and maintenance of paving, curbing, sewers, bridges, sidewalks and drainage systems, the grading, graveling, oiling, and maintenance of unpaved streets, the cleaning of streets, the collection and disposal of garbage, the public dump and the installation and maintenance of the street lighting system.

Commissioner Ash chose the Department of Parks and Public Property which had charge of all public property such as the city hall and municipal court buildings. Commissioner Schramm selected the Department of Accounts and Finance which comprised the Treasurer, Auditor, General License Collectors, Delinquent Cost Collection, Engineer's License Collectors and Bookkeeping Department. The Department of Public Safety was picked by Commissioner Hamery.

As Superintendent of the Department, Hamery was responsible for the police department, the fire department, the building department and the health department.¹ (See Diagram p. 145)

Thus, after fifty-six years of mayor-council system of government, Des Moines was to be ruled by this commission form of government.

After being sworn in, the commission faced strong pressure of office-seekers, but made satisfactory appointments for the most part. There was one appointment that revealed a weakness in the law and that was the appointment by the commission of a chief of police that was not acceptable to the head of the Department of Public Safety. But after a great deal of infighting that official was removed and replaced by a man chosen by Commissioner Hamery. The new government also was confronted by the fact that the city and all but one of the public service corporations were involved in litigation involving the corporations' claims of perpetual franchises.

Yet despite these difficulties the commission brought about a number of reforms within its first year. There was a surplus of \$21,679.28 on hand on April 1, 1909. This figure is even more impressive when compared to the financial situation of the city one year earlier when it fell short of paying its obligations for the year by

¹The Des Moines Plan of Commission Government (Des Moines: United Printing Co., 1931), pp. 29-51.

Figure 9

DES MOINES PLAN OF CITY GOVERNMENT

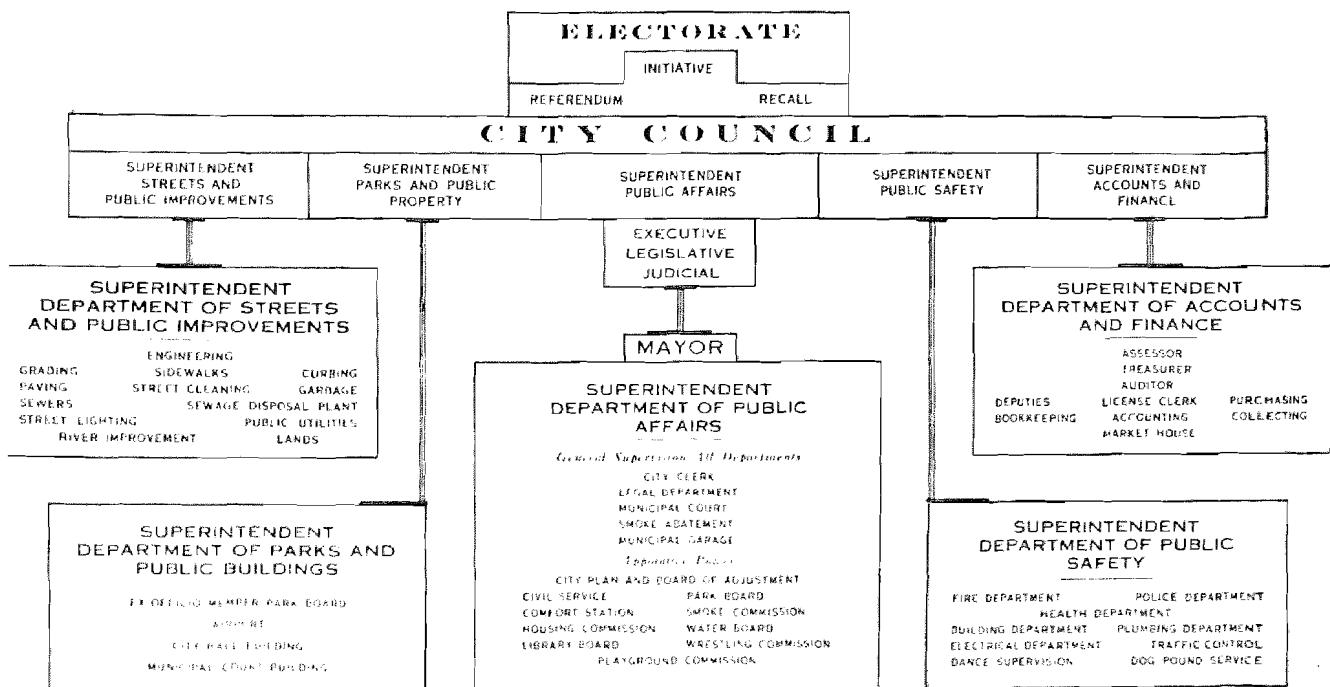


Diagram of the Departments and Offices
Controlled by Each Commissioner
under the Commission Plan¹

¹Mark L. Conkling, Des Moines Plan (Des Moines: Allied Printing, 1939), p. 39.

\$138,436.60¹ The new government also reduced the lighting bill of the city from \$66,243.00 for the year ending April 1, 1908, to \$60,694.00 for the same period ending April 1, 1909. This was a savings to the city on this one item alone of \$5,549.00 plus the settlement of litigation involving the Edison Light Company which resulted in a total saving of \$10,322.00 on lighting bills alone for the city. The rate for arc lights was reduced from \$95.00 to \$65.00 per year. The rate for natural gas was reduced from \$1.00 to \$.90 per 1000 cubic feet, thereby saving the city \$6,000.00. The wages of city laborers were advanced and a big improvement was made in street cleaning and street paving.² Yet the city tax rate was reduced slightly. The "red-light district" was supposedly cleaned out and the amount of general crime presumably diminished. A few months later, however, the Iowa Law and Order League charged that Des Moines was a wide-open town.³

This was not the only question mark against the commission plan, despite John Hamilton's assurances that the framers while endeavoring to "enable the people of Des

¹Brigham Johnson, History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1911), p. 621. In fairness to the old administration it should be said that about \$40,000.00 of this had been carried over from the previous year.

²"Des Moines Brilliant Financial Record under Commission Government," National Municipal Review, I, (1912), p. 723.

³Clinton R. Woodruff, City Government by Commission (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1911), p. 140.

Moines to free themselves permanently from the burdens of bad government," sought to produce a charter in which democracy and efficiency would be combined "in the greatest practicable degree."¹

The commission government while more responsive to the public's will only did its assigned duties; it did not lead in anticipating community requirements. Des Moines did not even record its vital statistics. It was nobody's business in Des Moines to study the city health problem outside of sanitary supervision of vaults and garbage receptacles.² Another weakness was the fact that the commission must, if it fulfills its purposes, constantly upset accountability. The commissioners were expected not only to legislate and pass ordinances, but at the same time to manage the business of the city. They could not do this without constantly and seriously intruding into the departments, as was the case when a police chief was appointed who was antagonistic to the head of the Department of Public Safety. This ruined accountability for the man whose department had been interfered with.

These faults, plus the inability of the commission government to maintain the citizens interest in achieving a high quality government which was the real reason for

¹John J. Hamilton, The Dethronement of the City Boss (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1910), pp. 64, 69.

²Henry Bruere, The New City Government (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1912), pp. 87-88.

the success of the new government, were going to lead to its downfall in June, 1949. At that time the commission was replaced by the council-manager form of government.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

In summation, the Des Moines municipal reform movement under the leadership of the city's most influential newspaper editors and lawyers, particularly Harvey Ingham, Lafe Young, and James Berryhill, was simply an attempt to change the control of the governmental institutions. The "popular dissatisfaction" with the city's government that the newspapers wrote about meant that certain members of the upper and middle-class wanted a change. Though they demanded a more businesslike system of government in Des Moines, the reformers appeared to be at least resentful if not fearful of the amount of influence in the decision making process held by the middle and lower classes. The reformers felt that this influence held by these lower classes in the more representative mayor-council system led to corruption and inefficiency in city government. So they proposed the new commission form of government which contained fewer representatives but was supposed to be non-partisan and speak for the city as a whole. However, when they proposed their "businessman slate" in the first election, they were not bothered by the idea that it violated at least the spirit of the law for they had assumed that it was obvious that the businessmen should control this new government. The

motives of the reformers in attempting to make the city's institutions more responsible to the people should be questioned, since it was their own group that they wanted the government to respond to.

Unlike Robert A. Dahl, who wrote that businessmen controlled the government in New Haven, Connecticut, before the progressive movement and during this reform period their attitudes changed so that they demanded a government that was more responsive to the people; I found in Des Moines no such change of attitude.¹ What had changed was which group of businessmen were going to control the city's government.

Many of the reform features such as the non-partisan primary election, initiative, referendum and recall which made the Des Moines Plan different from the Galveston Plan were not originally part of the proposed Des Moines Plan but were added only in the face of strong opposition, especially on the part of labor to reduced representation and centralization of the city's government. The reformers were never particularly fond of these features and were either afraid that the legislature would reject their plan because it made too many radical changes at one time or the court would declare the whole plan unconstitutional because of these features. But by requiring the relatively high percentage of 25 percent of the voters to sign the

¹Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 86.

petitions for initiative, referendum and recall, these innovations' influence on the day to day process of city government was greatly reduced. However, the presence of the initiative, referendum and recall in the Des Moines Plan had much to do with overcoming the objection that the commission form of government was undemocratic because it allowed, regardless of how ineffective, for voter participation in city affairs. So with these democratic reforms in the plan, the businessmen of the city in the form of the Committee of 530 proposed their list of capable businessmen to oust the professional politicians from government and run the city free from corruption. However, in the final election of March 30, 1908, the voters swept into office the entire anti-businessmens' "slate." So the lawyers, editors, and businessmen succeeded in changing the form of government, but not in controlling it.

The Huthmacker thesis that the lower class elements of the city supported the liberal reforms of the progressive movement is somewhat disputed by this study in that the lower class elements of the city tended to vote against this progressive reform as a whole plan. Yet the lower classes of Des Moines were instrumental in getting such reform features as initiative, recall and referendum added to the proposed plan because of the reformers' desire to win lower class support for the Des Moines Plan. These lower classes, however, were reluctant to give up their representation under the council-mayor system despite its

faults. Since there was no way to determine how strongly the individual members of the lower classes supported the measures of initiative, recall, and referendum, and since they did vote against the plan for reasons that included fear of the businessmen who had proposed the plan and had not asked labor to help write the plan, the particular conclusion that was reached was that they were opposed to municipal reform.

This study does support the conclusions of Samuel Hays and Gabriel Kolko in the following areas. First, that the leaders of the Des Moines reform movement were not the "anxiety ridden" group that Richard Hofstadter found but were rather self-confident, successful men of some prominence in the city. Men such as Berryhill, Ingham and Young were not worried about their standing in the community. These leaders wanted to do away with the unbusinesslike council-mayor system which was wasteful and corrupt. However, these reformers did not appear to be above making their own deal with the public service corporations which involved the granting of a "veto" power over who were to be the candidates endorsed by the Committee of 530 to get their plan adopted. This along with the reformers half-hearted support of nonpartisanship, initiative, referendum and recall, tends to support Kolko's argument that the reforms of the progressive period were a conservative nature. In other words the reformers were intent on founding a government that was based on business principles and run by businessmen. This new government was similiar to the old

mayor-council system in the fact that business had a great deal of influence in city government. However, the mayor-council form of government produced too many cumbersome accommodations based on bribes between the businessmen and the city hall politicians because the other elements of the city such as labor and the middle class were represented in the council and their representation had to be taught through bribes how to respond to the city's business interest.

The Des Moines Plan can now be seen as a plan with two purposes. First, as an attempt to eliminate these non-business interests from the centers of power and thereby eliminate much of the corruption and wastefulness associated with city government. Second, as an attempt to readjust the power balance within the city government between the various elements of the business community, especially between the merchants and the public service corporations of the city. So this reform demanded by the "citizens" of Des Moines was simply an attempted readjustment of political power within the business community to bring the city government further under its control. This helps explain the extreme disappointment of the supporters of the Des Moines Plan when non-business commissioners were voted into office at the first election. The business community felt that these commissioners, especially John MacVicar and his stance, were hostile to business interests of the city, particularly the public service corporations.

This set of circumstances of an eager anti-business commission plus an aroused public interest in good city government helped the commission government get off to a good start and saved the city considerable money.

Despite the commissions' early success, faults in the system were soon to appear. Since the commission demanded a person's full time it became increasingly difficult to find highly qualified men who would devote their time for two years of city government. Many men did not want to leave or be away from business for that long a time. In some cases, those who were elected knew nothing about administration. Also, the mayor being no stronger than any other commission member could not provide effective leadership in the city.¹ These problems, lack of leadership and qualified individuals to serve on the commission, gradually resulted in a city government that was displeasing to enough of its citizens that a campaign was started and the commission government was replaced in June, 1949.

Despite its faults and its eventual failure, the Des Moines Plan was an important part of the municipal reform effort that occurred during the progressive era. The commission plan as it was first drawn up in Galveston was of interest to the progressives, but they were cautious about advocating its adoption because it offered no real protections against corrupt commissioners with their greater

¹Charles R. Adrian, Governing Urban America (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1961), p. 216.

power from damaging a city more than any mayor or council could. It was Des Moines that took this commission government and added the protection of initiative, recall and referendum and thereby made the commission government one of the forms that the progressives advocated in reforming wasteful municipal government.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Comparison of Advertizers in the Des Moines Register & Leader,
the Des Moines Daily News, the Des Moines Daily
Capitol, and the Des Moines Tribune

Advertisers	April Week of 5-12				May Week of 6-13				June Week of 5-12			
	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT ¹
Agar Packing Co.				3								
Albrecht's Cigar		1		6		1		3		1		6
American Laundry				6				2				7
Askin & Marino Clothiers		3	3			2	2			2	3	
Ayres, L. E.								1				1
Babcock			3				3					
Balzer Bros. Groceries				2				2				7
Beckman Bros.				2				2				7
Bloomfield Coal & Mining Co.				5				3				6
Blue Transfer	2	5			2	1			4	5		
Bolton Transfer Co.				2				3				6
Bolton Hardware Co.				6				2				8
Boston Lunch				3				2				7

¹R&L--Des Moines Register & Leader, DN--Des Moines Daily News, DC--Des Moines Daily Capitol,
DMT--Des Moines Tribune.

Appendix A con't.

Advertisers	April Week of 5-12				May Week of 6-13				June Week of 5-12			
	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT
Brandt Real Estate				6				2				7
Brown, George C.				1				2				7
Burlington Route			1				1				6	8
Burzacott, C.				7				2				7
Caldbeck, W.				4				1				7
Capital Cigar Store				6				2				7
Capital City Barber Shop				4				2				7
Capital City State Bank				7				3				7
Capital Hill Granite & Marble Work				9				2				7
Capital Hill Shoe Store				7				2				7
Chicago & Great Western	2	5	5		3	4	2		3	3	4	
Chicago Union Pacific	2	3	3									
Chittenden				6				2				7
John T. Christie Co.				8				2				7
Clelands Grocery				7				4				7
Colton				6				2				7
Columbia Saloon				7				2				7
Columbia Cafe				7				2				

Appendix A con't.

Advertisers	April Week of 5-12				May Week of 6-13				June Week of 5-12			
	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT
Consumer's Ice Co.				7				2				
Dahlstrom Bros.				5				2				7
Davidson & Bros.	4	3	4	2		2	2			3	3	1
Delaware Coal Co.				5				2				7
Des Moines Edison Light Co.	2	1	1	6	2	1		3	3	1	2	8
Des Moines Gas Co.	1	1	2	7	1		1	2				7
Des Moines Mortar Co.				7				2				7
Des Moines Implement Co.	1	3		3	1	1		3				10
Des Moines Manufacture & Supply Co.				5				2				7
Des Moines Tent & Awning Co.				7								
Des Moines Water Works Co.				7				2		1		7
Dietz & Levehe				5				2				7
Drake Univ. Summer Summer					3	1	2		3	5	4	
East D.M. Candy Kitchen								1				7
East D.M. Commercial League												7
East Side Planning Mill				5				2				7

Appendix A con't.

Advertisers	April Week of 5-12				May Week of 6-13				June Week of 5-12			
	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT
Eagle Iron Works				6				2				7
Elliott-Anderson Co.				7				2				7
Ergleen-Eade Drug Co.				6				2				7
The Fair			4	5			1	3			1	7
Family Shoe Store			3	7		1	2	2				5
Farmer Co-operative	1	3	1	7	1	2	1	2		1		4
Fellows & Fellows	3	2	3		1	3	2	1	3	2		1
1st Class Barber Shop				5			2					7
Frankels'	8	5	2		7	5	2		8	5	1	
Frederick Field Shoe Co.	3				1							
Garfield Clothing Co.			4	3		1	3	2		1		7
Garton, S. B.								1				7
Gates Market Co.	1			8				2				7
Gilcrest Lumber Co.				5				3				7
Glenwood Coal												6
Globe Plumbing & Heating				5				1				7
Graff, S. E.				12				2				7
Grand Ave. Pharmacy								1				7
Great Northern Railroad										5	4	

Appendix A con't.

Advertisers	April Week of 5-12				May Week of 6-13				June Week of 5-12			
	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT
Guest Piano Co.									3			
Hanomer, Alvin				3				2				7
Hanger, Arther C.							1	1			1	7
Harrah & Stewart				7				2				7
Harty & Summers								1				7
Harris - Emery	1	5	4		1	6	4			5	4	
Hass & Co.				5				3				7
Hast, Louis				5				2				7
Hawkeye Cleaners				7				2				7
Hawkeye Transfer									5			
Hervey Grocery				2				2				8
Hollett-Maschek				7				2				7
Holmer-Irving Co.								2				7
Homan's O.M.				5				2				
Home Place								1				7
Home Savings Bank				8				3				7
Hurd, H. A. Druggist		2					5					
Hume & Co.				6				2				7
Hunter & Co.				6				2				7
Iowa Iron & Metal Works		1		5		1		2		1		7
Iowa Seed Co.	4	9	6	6	6	10	9	2		4	3	6
Iowa Trust & Savings Bank				10				3				7
Jellison, Wiley & Co.				7				2				7

Appendix A con't.

Advertisers	April Week of 5-12				May Week of 6-13				June Week of 5-12			
	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT
Jewett Lumber co.				5				2				7
Johnson & Co.	1			5	1			2	3			7
Johnson & Miller Men's Clothing	2	3			3	2			1	1		
Kimball Co.	2	3	3	4		1			1	1	2	1
Koenigshergh, J.E.				10				1				7
Koenigsberger, Chas.				5				2				7
Kuble Bros.			2	4			1	2				7
Lickty's			1	1			1	2			1	8
Limited Term Life								1				7
Lindquist-Holt				5				2				7
Livingston Hatchery							3					
Lozier Florist			3	5				2	1		1	7
Lynch & Larson				2				2				7
McQuaid's Market	2	3	2		1	3	4			1	2	
Mandellaum		4				5				3		
Maple Block Coal				5			2	2				7
Markussen				5				3				7
Matthews Carriage Co.	3							2				7
Merchant's Laundry				6				2				7
The Mint				6				2				7
Model Shoe Store			3	2			2				2	1

Appendix A con't.

Advertisers	April Week of 5-12				May Week of 6-13				June Week of 5-12			
	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT
Moorehead Plumbing & Heating Co.				6			2					7
Peabody Houghteling Co.	4				3				3			
National Printing Co.				3			2					7
New Wellington Cafe & Hotel		4	3			3	4				2	
Nicoll - Tailor	2	2	4		2	3	3		4	3	4	
Neuderman & Ostholm								1				7
Northwestern Hotel				7				2				7
Northwest Wallpaper	6				3							
Norton Pharmacy				6				2				6
Olsen, Mach Co.		1	1			2				4		
Osteopathic Inst.									3			
Parrett Jeweler	2	3	3		4	4			3	1	4	3
Penn Ave Pharmacy								1				7
Peterson, C. W.				7				2				7
Radium Theater				4					3	3	4	
Randall Lumber Co.				5				2				7
Randolph Druggist				4				2				7
Rees Gabriel & Co.				6				2				6
Richard Pharmacy				5				2				7
Rissner Music Co.			2				3				1	

Appendix A con't.

Advertisers	April Week of 5-12				May Week of 6-13				June Week of 5-12			
	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT
Rock Island Railroad	1	1	3		2	2	2		8	6	7	
Rogg Co.				7				1				
Ross & Ross								2				7
Rothschild, A.				5				2				7
Rube, the Clothier		1		6			1	2			2	7
Robinson Furniture & Carpets				5				3				7
Ryan, D. L.				5				2				7
Queal & Co.				8				2				6
Santa Fe	3											
Schlampp, Frank		3	1				1			2		
Schmucker & Logar				8				2				7
Sew Arntz, Dr.			4			1				1		
Standard Oil		4	3			4	3			4		
State Insurance Co.				4								1
Still College of Ost.	2		2		2	4	1		3	1	1	6
Stoner Wallpaper			2			1	3			2	2	
Terril, the Caretaker												7
Thomas Plumbing Co.				7				2				7
Tobey & Co.				7				2				7
Ulch Drug Co.				5				2				8
Utica	4		5		6		4		7		4	
Union Grocery								1				8

Appendix A con't.

Advertisers	April Week of 5-12				May Week of 6-13				June Week of 5-12			
	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT	R&L	DN	DC	DMT
Vanghans Greenhouse				3							1	1
Viggers & Hasviland				5								
White, W. L.		3				4				3		
Wilkins			4			1	3			2	4	
Whitney, E. F.				6				2				7
Williams, F. T.				2				1				7
Willner's Mens Clothing		3	4		2	2	2		2	1	1	
Witner-Kauffman					3				3			
Yunker Bros.	4	4	17		2	4	7		3	1	5	
Yourex, R. W.	1	4	3		2	4	2		2	5	2	
YWCA Board of Dir.		1	1	5								1

Appendix B

A Breakdown of the Random Sample of the Population
Listed in the 1907 Des Moines City Directory
into Socio-Economic Classes
by Voting Precincts.
(West Des Moines)

	Ward 1 Prec 1	Ward 1 Prec 2	Ward 1 Prec 3	Ward 1 Prec 4	Ward 2 Prec 1	Ward 2 Prec 2	Ward 2 Prec 3	Ward 3 Prec 1	Ward 3 Prec 2	Ward 3 Prec 3	Ward 3 Prec 4	Ward 3 Prec 5	Ward 4 Prec 1	Ward 4 Prec 2	Ward 4 Prec 3	Ward 4 Prec 4
Class I	11	34	32	23	3	13	15	2	6	8	22	14	2	8	10	12
Class II	15	31	64	43	10	43	48	22	31	36	49	24	6	34	47	28
Class III	5	16	15	14	20	12	24	9	10	23	9	7	12	10	12	7
Class IV	14	26	16	22	21	12	24	14	18	18	8	19	26	13	24	10
Class V	8	29	25	34	29	35	47	30	31	26	4	22	55	34	43	22
Total I-III	31	81	111	80	33	68	87	33	47	67	80	45	20	52	69	47
Total IV-V	12	55	41	56	50	47	71	44	49	44	12	41	81	47	67	32
Total I-II	26	65	96	66	13	56	63	24	37	48	71	38	8	42	47	40
Total III-V	27	71	66	70	70	59	95	53	59	67	21	48	93	57	79	39
Total	53	136	152	136	83	115	158	77	96	111	92	86	101	89	136	79

Appendix B con't

A Breakdown of the Random Sample of the Population
Listed in the 1907 Des Moines City Directory
into Socio-Economic Classes
by Voting Precincts.
(East Des Moines)

	Ward 5 Prec 1	Ward 5 Prec 2	Ward 5 Prec 3	Ward 5 Prec 4	Ward 6 Prec 1	Ward 6 Prec 2	Ward 6 Prec 3	Ward 6 Prec 4	Ward 6 Prec 5	Ward 7 Prec 1	Ward 7 Prec 2	Ward 7 Prec 3	Ward 7 Prec 4
Class I		4	5	10		3	2	6	6			1	
Class II	1	19	16	29	6	30	8	24	19		6	16	9
Class III	3	5	9	13	12	12	8	17	8	1	8	19	11
Class IV	12	22	18	26	13	25	19	26	24	5	28	17	21
Class V	42	49	31	32	28	66	31	57	30	5	33	39	22
Total I-III	4	28	30	52	18	45	18	47	33	1	14	36	20
Total IV-V	54	71	49	58	41	91	50	83	54	10	61	56	47
Total I-II	1	23	21	39	6	33	10	30	25		6	17	9
Total III-V	57	76	58	71	53	103	58	100	62	11	69	75	54
Total	58	99	79	110	59	136	68	130	87	11	75	92	63

Appendix C

A Percentage Breakdown of the Random Sample of the Population Listed in the 1907 Des Moines City Directory into Socio-Economic Classes by Voting Precincts. (West Des Moines)

	Ward 1 Prec 1	Ward 1 Prec 2	Ward 1 Prec 3	Ward 1 Prec 4	Ward 2 Prec 1	Ward 2 Prec 2	Ward 2 Prec 3	Ward 3 Prec 1	Ward 3 Prec 2	Ward 3 Prec 3	Ward 3 Prec 4	Ward 3 Prec 5	Ward 4 Prec 1	Ward 4 Prec 2	Ward 4 Prec 3	Ward 4 Prec 4
Class I	20.7	25.0	21.0	16.9	3.6	11.4	9.5	2.6	6.3	7.3	23.9	16.3	2.0	9.0	7.2	15.6
Class II	28.4	22.8	43.1	31.5	12.0	37.3	30.5	28.6	32.3	32.5	53.2	28.0	6.0	38.1	34.5	35.5
Class III	9.4	11.8	9.9	10.3	24.1	10.4	15.2	11.7	10.4	2.07	9.8	8.1	11.9	11.2	8.8	8.9
Class IV	26.4	19.1	10.5	16.2	25.3	10.4	15.2	18.2	18.8	16.2	8.7	22.1	25.7	14.6	17.8	12.7
Class V	15.1	21.3	16.4	25.0	25.0	30.4	29.7	39.0	32.3	23.4	4.4	25.6	54.5	27.0	31.6	27.8
Class IV & V	41.5	40.4	26.9	41.2	60.3	40.8	44.9	57.2	41.1	39.6	13.1	47.1	80.2	41.6	49.4	40.5
Class I & II	49.1	47.8	64.1	48.4	15.6	48.7	40.0	31.2	38.6	39.8	77.1	44.3	8.0	47.1	41.7	41.1
Class I-III	58.5	60.6	74.0	58.7	39.7	59.1	55.2	42.9	49.0	60.5	86.9	52.4	19.9	48.3	49.5	60.0
Class I-IV	84.9	49.7	84.5	74.9	65.0	69.5	70.4	61.1	67.8	76.7	95.6	74.5	45.6	62.9	67.3	72.7

Appendix C con't.

A Percentage Breakdown of the Random Sample of the Population
Listed in the 1907 Des Moines City Directory
into Socio-Economic Classes
by Voting Precincts.
(East Des Moines)

	Ward 5 Prec 1	Ward 5 Prec 2	Ward 5 Prec 3	Ward 5 Prec 4	Ward 6 Prec 1	Ward 6 Prec 2	Ward 6 Prec 3	Ward 6 Prec 4	Ward 6 Prec 5	Ward 7 Prec 1	Ward 7 Prec 2	Ward 7 Prec 3	Ward 7 Prec 4
Class I		4.0	6.4	9.0		2.2	3.0	4.6	6.9				
Class II	1.7	19.2	20.2	26.5	10.2	22.1	11.8	18.3	21.8		7.9	17.5	13.4
Class III	5.2	5.1	11.4	11.8	20.3	8.8	11.8	3.1	9.2	9.0	10.7	20.7	17.5
Class IV	20.7	22.2	22.8	23.6	22.0	18.4	27.9	20.0	27.6	45.4	37.4	18.5	33.3
Class V	72.4	49.5	39.2	29.1	47.5	48.5	45.6	43.8	34.5	45.5	44.0	42.4	34.9
Class IV & V	93.1	71.7	62.0	52.7	69.5	66.9	73.5	63.8	62.1	91.0	81.3	60.8	68.2
Class I & II	1.7	23.2	26.5	35.5	10.2	24.3	14.8	23.0	28.7		7.9	18.6	14.4
Class I-III	6.9	28.3	27.9	47.3	30.5	33.1	26.6	36.1	37.9	9.0	18.6	39.3	31.9
Class I-IV	27.6	50.5	60.8	70.9	52.5	51.5	54.4	56.2	65.5	54.5	56.0	57.6	65.1

Appendix D

Results of Primary Election¹
March 16, 1908

FOR MAYOR

Silas B. Allen	1,911	B. F. Parker	909
George W. Kortright	23	A. D. Pugh	255
F. F. Loos	45	Eugene W. Waterbury	3,567
John McKay, Sr.	1,561	George W. Werum	28
A. J. Mathis	5,539		

FOR COMMISSIONER

Wesley Ash	3,490	Martin Johnson	267
Frank J. Bennett	1,980	Ream C. Johnson	242
D. T. Blogett	79	Nixon P. Jones	314
Isaac Brandt	535	H. U. Keasey	1,342
W. H. Brereton	2,085	D. H. Kooker	348
Edward D. Brigham	2,050	I. M. Lieser	897
John W. Budd	1,761	John B. Lucas	1,964
Wm. L. Carpenter	434	Chas. E. Lyon	294
A. L. Clinite	569	I. S. McCrillis	181
Ed Crawford	836	John MacVicar	6,403
E. L. Crosby	171	Ernest K. Maine	141
John J. Donai	171	Dan O'Grady	1,037
Harry C. Evans	1,620	M. H. Pickering	287
S. B. Garton	1,657	John W. Ray	1,253
Elmer F. Gibson	111	Chas. W. Schramm	2,238
Chas. Gilbride	329	A. K. Stewart	834
W. S. Hall	553	John M. Stewart	824
John L. Hamery	3,842	J. H. Uetz	499
James R. Hanna	2,724	Eugene Van Dyck	325
W. F. Harsh	973	Buffon S. Walker	2,248
W. Powell Harvey	169	Chas. S. Worth	3,248
W. N. Heaton	126		

¹Register and Leader, March 17, 1908.

Appendix E

Actual Voting Returns by Precinct of the Top Ten Candidates in the Primary and Final Elections¹ (West Side)

		Ward 1 Prec 1	Ward 1 Prec 2	Ward 1 Prec 3	Ward 1 Prec 4	Ward 2 Prec 1	Ward 2 Prec 2	Ward 2 Prec 3	Ward 3 Prec 1	Ward 3 Prec 2	Ward 3 Prec 3	Ward 3 Prec 4	Ward 3 Prec 5	Ward 4 Prec 1	Ward 4 Prec 2	Ward 4 Prec 3	Ward 4 Prec 4
Mathis	P*	45	158	204	163	171	221	324	128	131	180	101	171	189	199	306	108
	F**	93	287	434	376	333	366	535	251	252	276	168	302	358	347	413	163
Waterbury	P	33	320	335	165	53	213	323	41	108	153	270	154	84	74	129	141
	F	67	373	542	398	66	275	363	64	148	227	342	202	140	130	211	179
MacVicar	P	85	350	459	357	196	328	507	141	198	265	274	147	207	223	330	176
	F	121	420	662	521	310	465	681	247	285	383	340	283	366	368	477	238
Hamery	P	54	226	400	357	104	175	336	57	110	126	130	132	91	76	158	93
	F	125	362	640	543	229	362	625	125	222	260	251	321	247	197	301	183
Ash	P	35	91	102	123	111	87	134	76	71	78	32	134	171	171	127	58
	F	99	310	333	340	304	310	477	231	228	235	131	276	355	336	389	138
Schramm	P	56	140	155	155	70	124	227	44	81	161	126	50	46	56	125	52
	F	101	340	536	458	248	371	605	165	226	347	292	210	236	311	391	209
Worth	P	25	275	341	161	41	196	166	33	90	103	236	145	61	68	126	117
	F	53	381	552	339	101	305	329	88	163	208	333	227	104	137	224	183
Hanna	P	20	246	324	195	38	161	187	23	83	114	205	225	53	67	113	113
	F	59	343	551	368	66	274	346	58	139	207	332	309	94	108	196	181
Brereton	P	12	74	78	66	41	62	68	37	35	38	34	38	89	73	63	24
	F	25	151	153	126	142	167	182	156	94	120	56	124	209	223	215	64
Walker	P	20	252	214	116	45	162	121	28	72	86	149	111	164	69	95	89
	F	46	291	360	224	66	233	203	60	109	149	224	149	244	102	143	121

*Primary Election

**Final Election

¹Des Moines Register and Leader, March 17 and 31, 1908.

Appendix E con't

Actual Voting Returns by Precinct of the Top Ten Candidates
in the Primary and Final Elections
(East Side)

		Ward 5 Prec 1	Ward 5 Prec 2	Ward 5 Prec 3	Ward 5 Prec 4	Ward 6 Prec 1	Ward 6 Prec 2	Ward 6 Prec 3	Ward 6 Prec 4	Ward 6 Prec 5	Ward 7 Prec 1	Ward 7 Prec 2	Ward 7 Prec 3	Ward 7 Prec 4	Total
Mathis	P*	137	222	221	250	105	221	224	381	210	28	256	326	160	5,539
	F**	220	392	291	312	169	308	314	507	291	27	420	455	203	9,197
Waterbury	P	37	63	89	134	26	60	107	180	82	--	88	68	37	3,567
	F	64	110	132	208	48	123	139	258	101	9	122	92	62	5,260
MacVicar	P	125	168	184	201	93	189	166	275	188	28	249	190	89	6,403
	F	225	346	297	347	155	313	267	502	275	29	378	379	182	9,898
Hamery	P	61	72	114	161	46	60	73	178	112	10	137	118	77	3,742
	F	120	195	215	283	112	188	228	394	234	14	329	278	174	7,675
Ash	P	92	200	108	101	86	163	176	187	131	3	328	224	93	8,490
	F	228	405	278	282	182	312	292	507	252	26	432	425	186	8,394
Schramm	P	36	65	56	46	31	38	42	71	32	24	45	47	37	2,238
	F	159	214	190	244	127	189	208	330	175	25	226	238	139	7,537
Worth	P	21	58	94	201	15	61	113	209	94	3	53	75	47	3,248
	F	102	171	191	324	39	186	211	391	170	6	144	169	106	5,920
Hanna	P	23	22	42	82	22	31	64	112	55	--	37	43	24	2,724
	F	46	75	93	195	33	69	136	233	109	16	107	100	66	4,896
Brereton	P	68	100	78	117	37	117	93	178	92	18	144	136	51	2,085
	F	156	272	194	166	106	221	175	339	154	24	251	305	108	4,719
Walker	P	20	18	22	76	38	23	53	89	39	--	28	32	17	2,248
	F	43	60	62	122	71	58	96	161	65	8	48	64	40	3,575

*Primary Election

**Final Election

Appendix F

Analysis of the Top Ten Candidates According to Their Order of Placement

West Side - Primary Election

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	**
Mathis		9	1	1	2		2	1			13/16
Waterbury*		3	2	6	1	3	1				12/16
MacVicar	14	1		1							16/16
Hamery	1	2	3	3	3	3	1				12/16
Ash			4		2	1		3	4	2	6/16
Schramm		1	1		3	1	3	3	2	2	5/16
Worth*			4	1	2	1	4	3	1		7/16
Hanna*			2	2	2	3	1	2	2	2	6/16
Brereton						2	1	1	2	10	0/16
Walker*				2	1	2	3	3	5		3/16

West Side - Final Election

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	**
Mathis	2	4	3	1	2		2	1	1		12/16
Waterbury*	1		1	1	1	4	2	5	1		4/16
MacVicar	10	5		1							16/16
Hamery	3	2		5	3	3					13/16
Ash			5	2	4		2	1	2		11/16
Schramm		3	4	4	1	3	1				12/16
Worth*		1	3			4	4	3	1		4/16
Hanna*		1		2	2	1	2	3	2	3	5/16
Brereton					2	1	2			11	2/16
Walker*					1		1	3	9	2	1/16

East Side - Primary Election

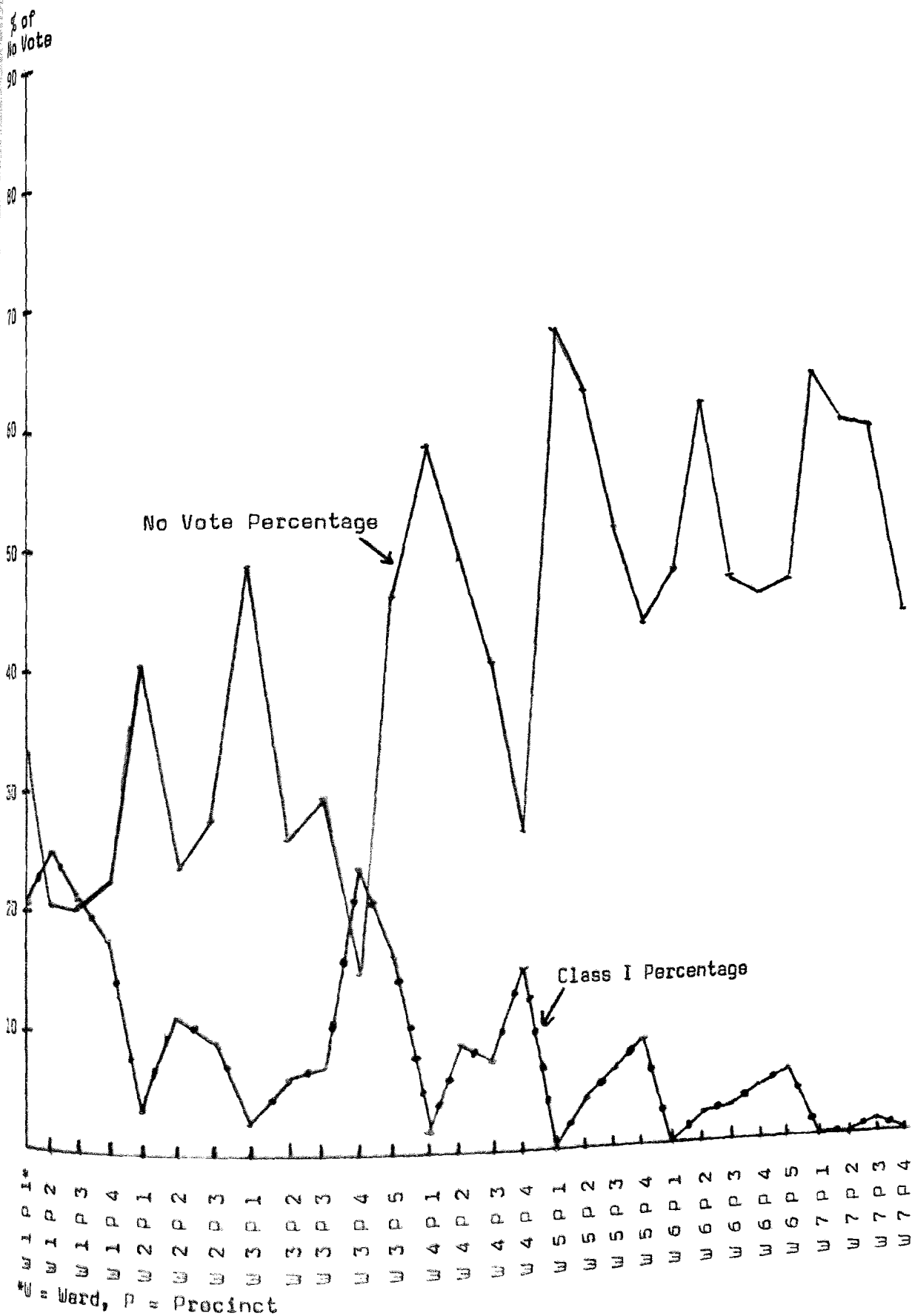
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	**
Mathis	12	1									13/13
Waterbury*					3	3	5	2			3/13
MacVicar		8	5								13/13
Hamery			1	4	5	2	1				10/13
Ash	1	4	5	2			1				12/13
Schramm						2	2	6		3	0/13
Worth*			2	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	6/13
Hanna*								3	9	1	0/13
Brereton				6	1	4	2				7/13
Walker*					1				3	9	1/13

East Side - Final Election

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	**
Mathis	5	5	3								13/13
Waterbury*							1	9	3		0/13
MacVicar	4	2	7								13/13
Hamery				7	2	3	1				9/13
Ash	4	5	3		1						13/13
Schramm				3	4	4	2				7/13
Worth*		1			2	2	6		1	1	3/13
Hanna*						1		4	7	1	0/13
Brereton				3	4	3	2		1		7/13
Walker*							1		1	11	0/13

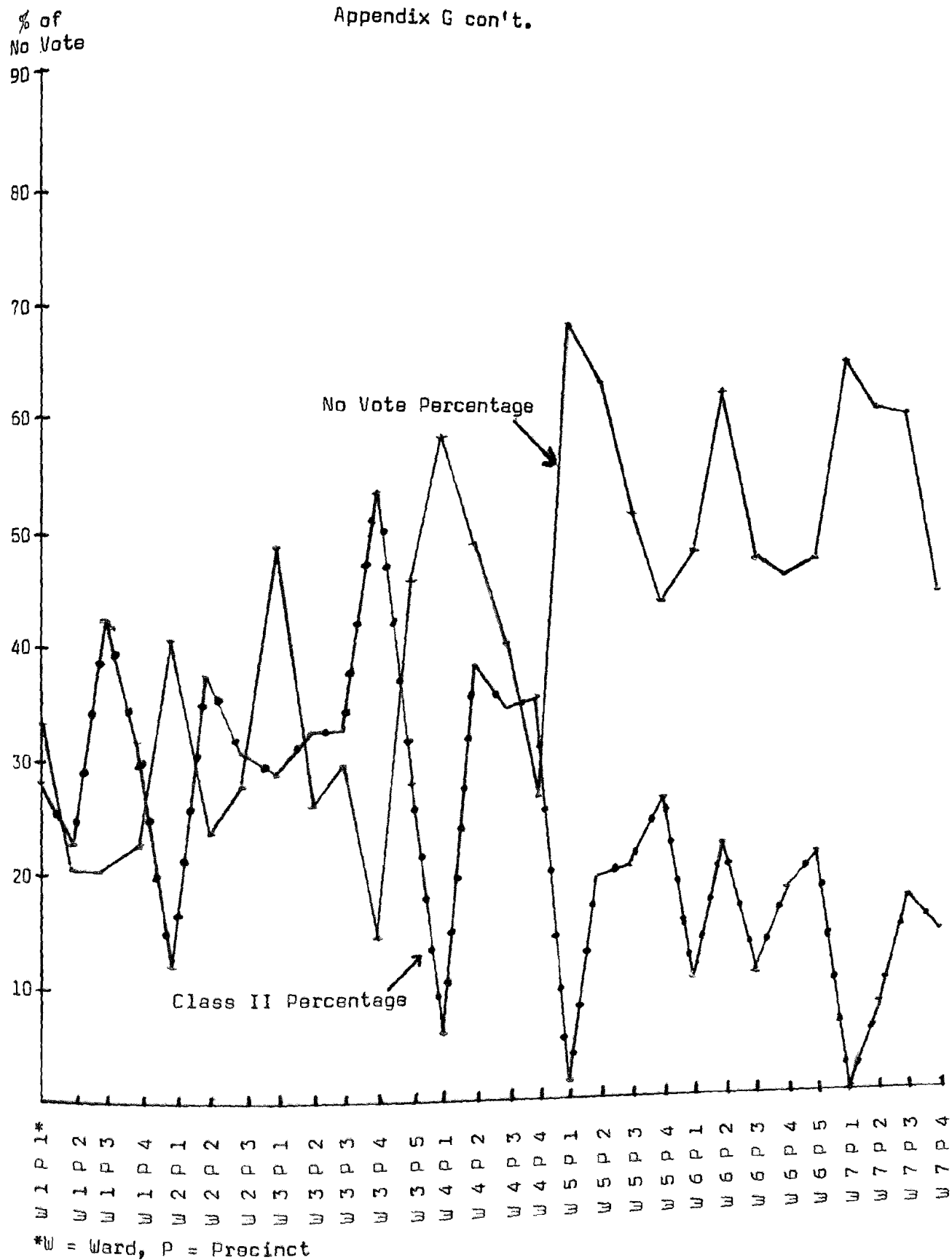
*Indicates Des Moines Plan Ticket Candidates

**Number of times a Candidate finished in one of the top five places out of the total number of precincts on that side of the river



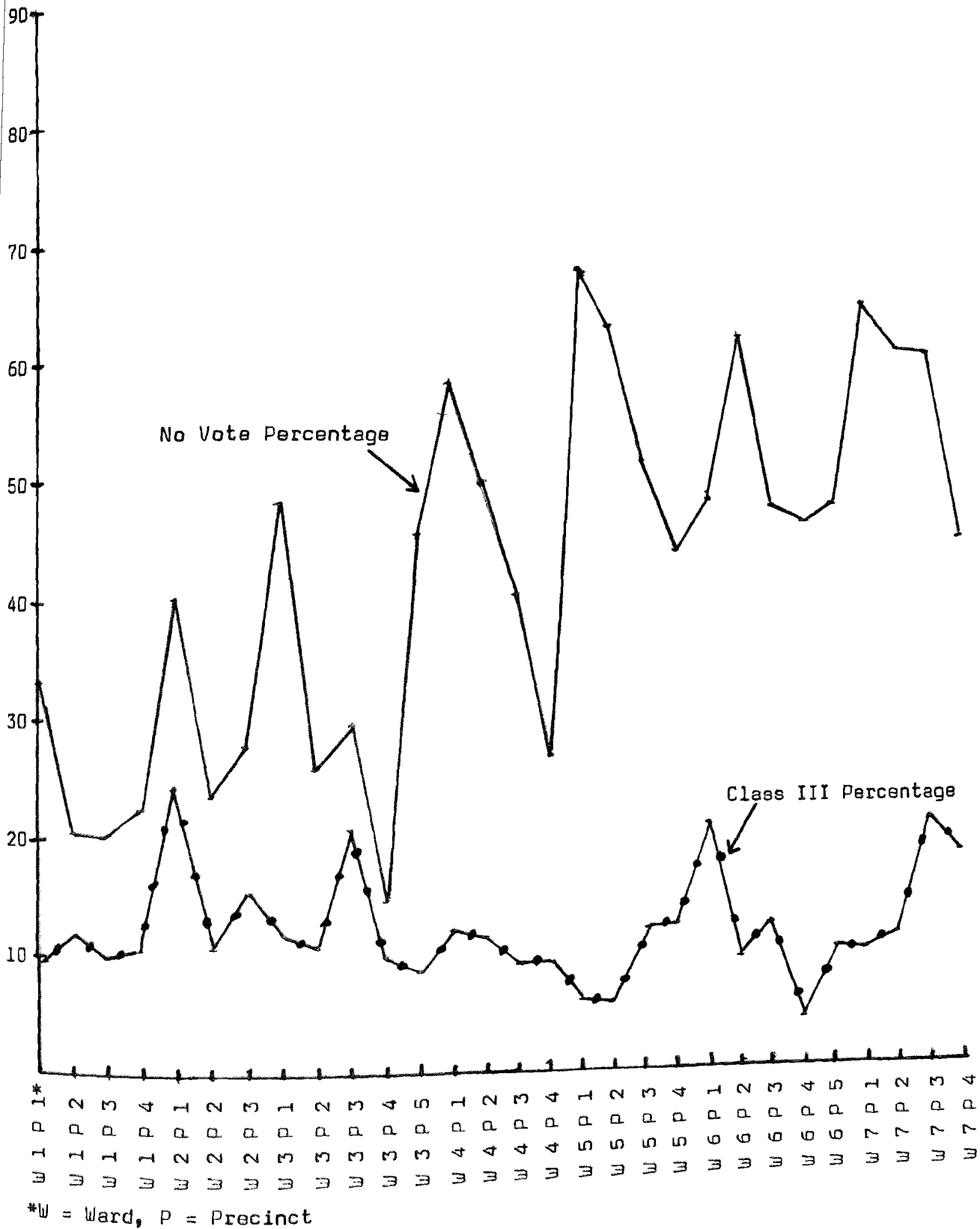
A Graphic Comparison of the Class I Percentage
Against the Percentage of No Votes
Cast in Each Precinct

Appendix G con't.



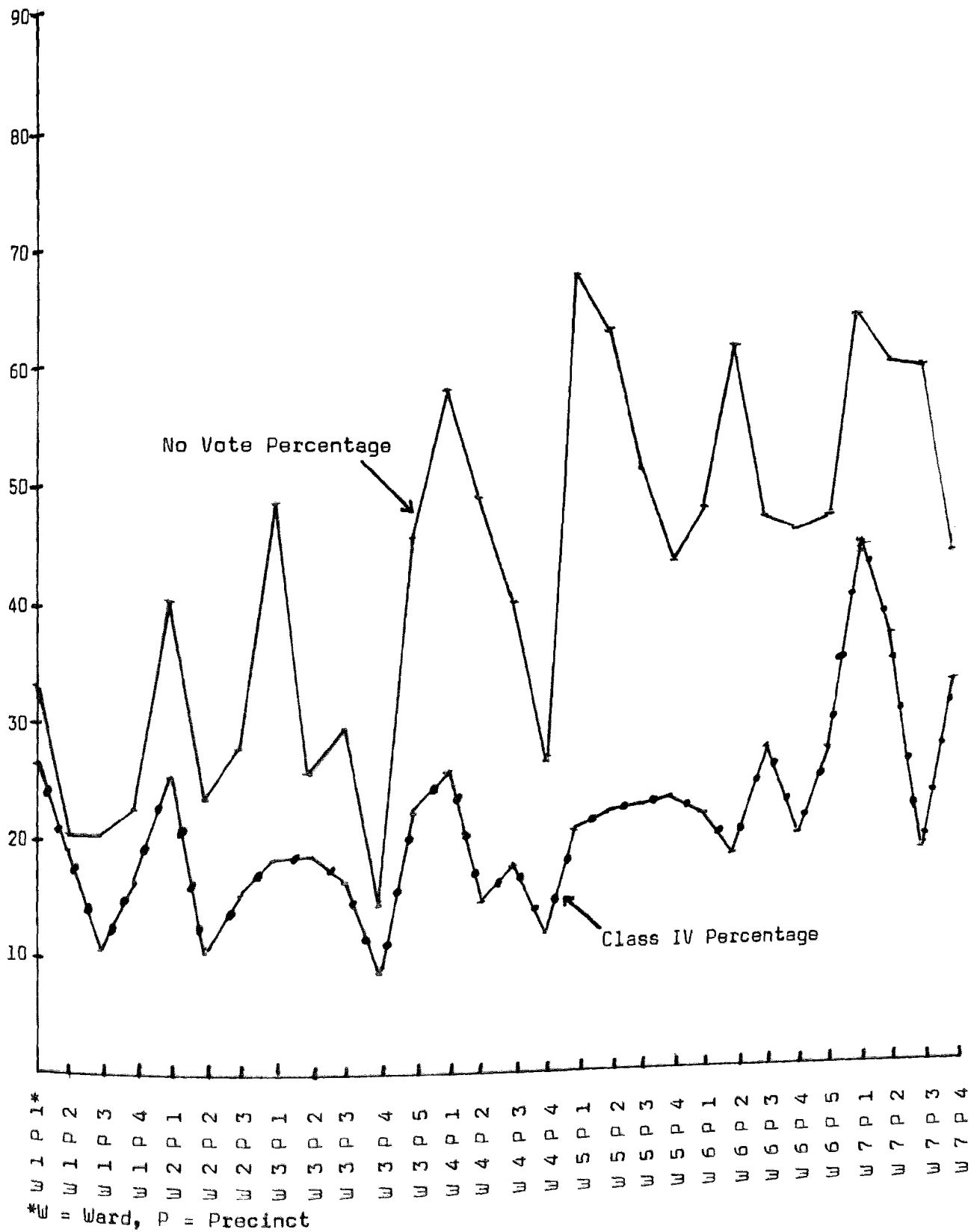
A Graphic Comparison of the Class II Percentage
Against the Percentage of No Votes
Cast in Each Precinct

Appendix G con't.

% of
No Vote

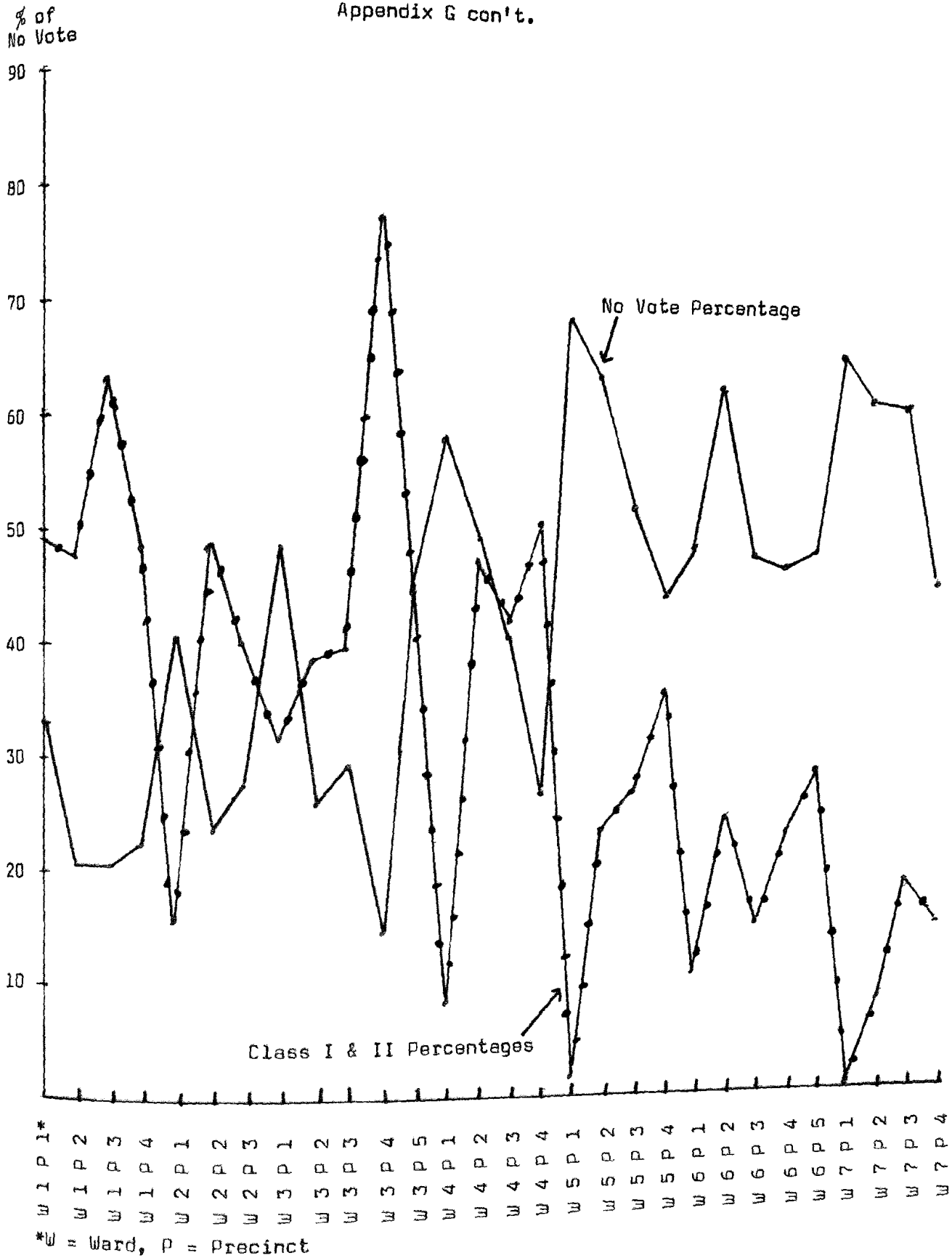
A Graphic Comparison of the Class III Percentage
Against the Percentage of No Votes
Cast in Each Precinct

Appendix G con't.

% of
No Vote

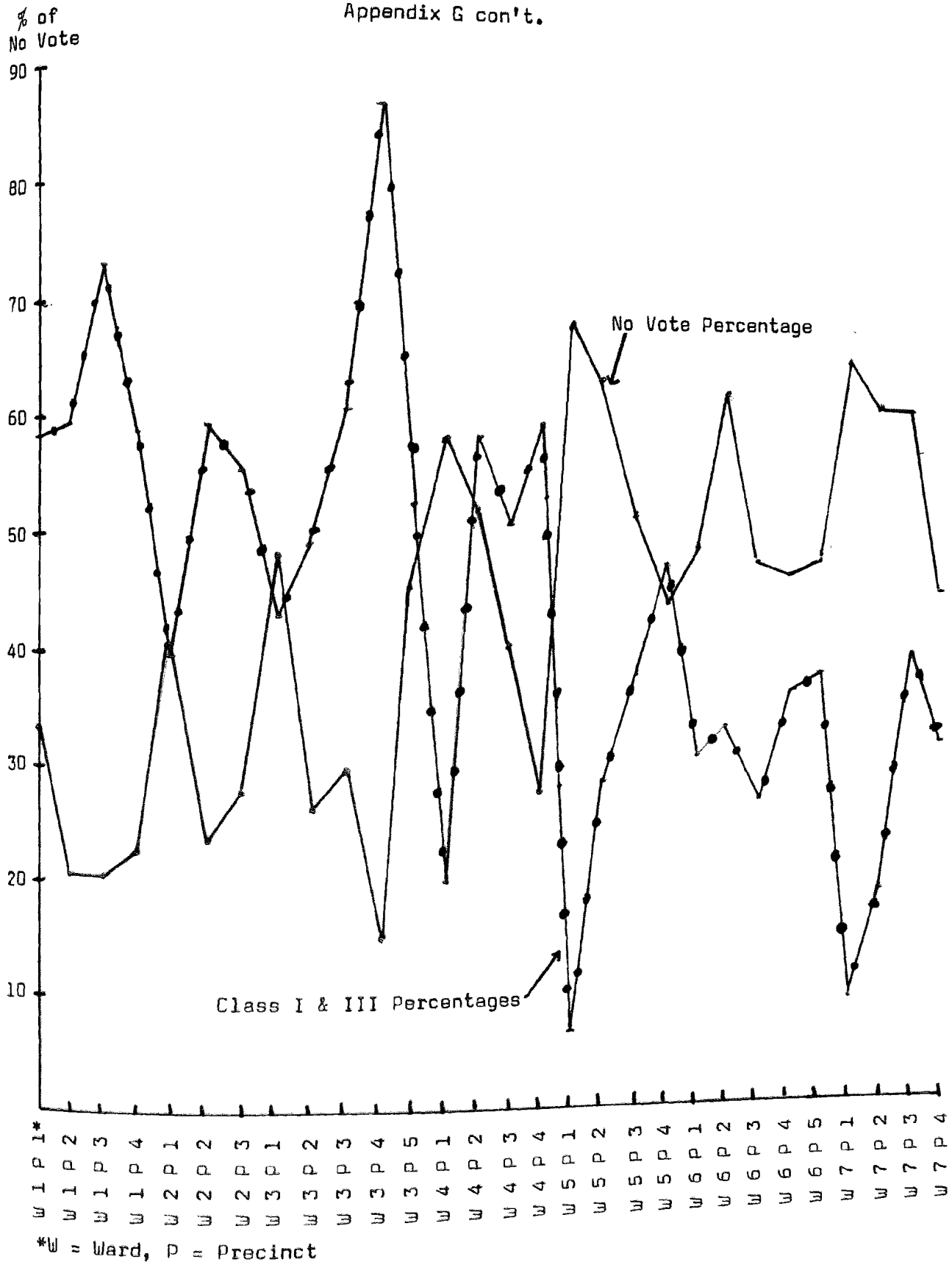
A Graphic Comparison of the Class IV Percentage
Against the Percentage of No Votes
Cast in Each Precinct

Appendix G con't.

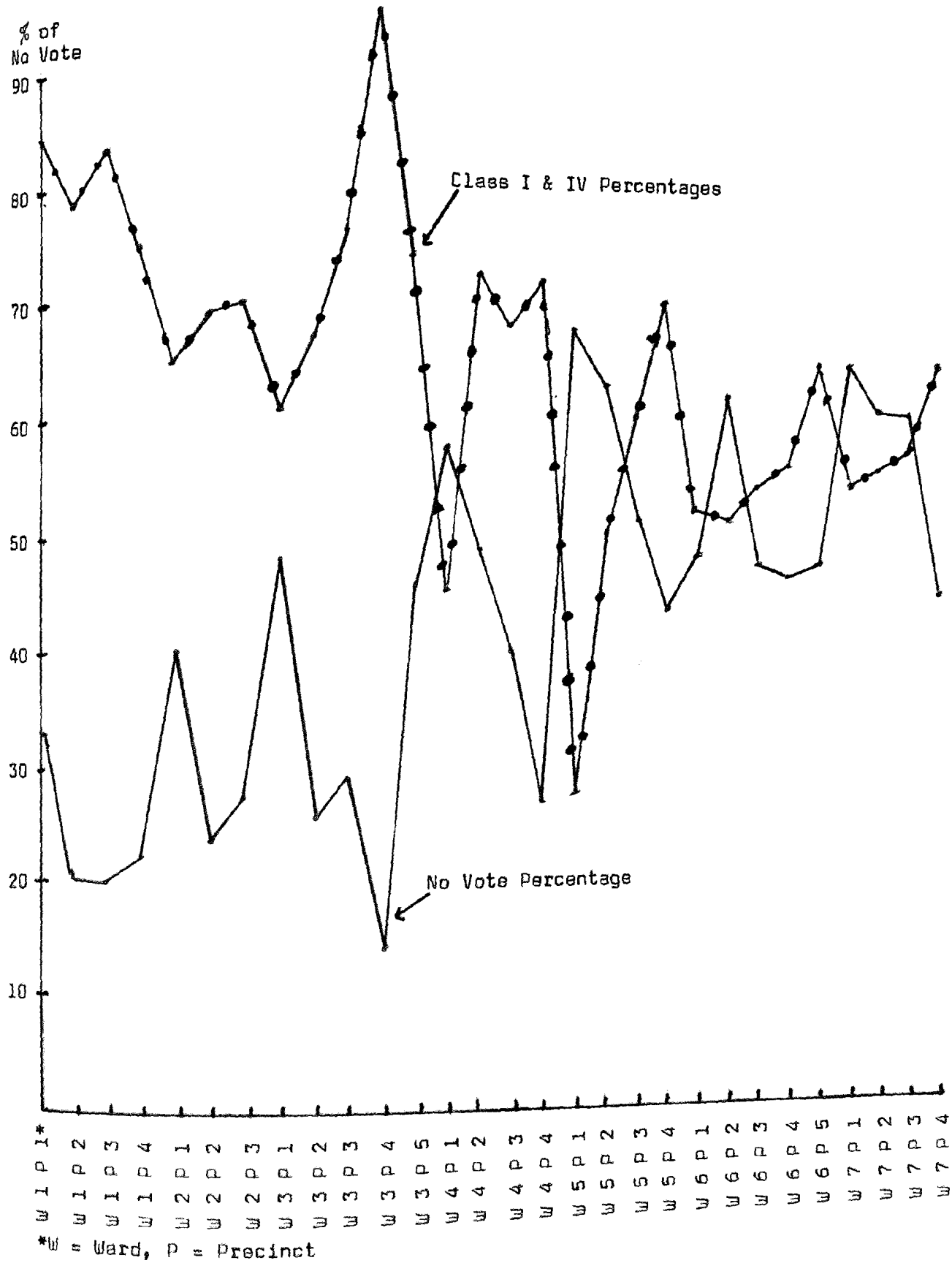


A Graphic Comparison of the Class I & II
Percentage Against the Percentage
of No Votes Cast in
Each Precinct

Appendix G con't.



A Graphic Comparison of the Class I & III
Percentage Against the Percentage
of No Votes Cast in
Each Precinct



A Graphic Comparison of the Class I & IV
Percentage Against the Percentage
of No Votes Cast in
Each Precinct

Appendix G con't.

% of
No VoteClass III, IV, & V
Percentages

No Vote Percentage

1*
 P 2
 1 P 2
 W 1 P 3
 W 1 P 4
 W 2 P 1
 W 2 P 2
 W 2 P 3
 W 3 P 1
 W 3 P 2
 W 3 P 3
 W 3 P 4
 W 3 P 5
 W 4 P 1
 W 4 P 2
 W 4 P 3
 W 4 P 4
 W 5 P 1
 W 5 P 2
 W 5 P 3
 W 5 P 4
 W 6 P 1
 W 6 P 2
 W 6 P 3
 W 6 P 4
 W 6 P 5
 W 7 P 1
 W 7 P 2
 W 7 P 3
 W 7 P 4

*W = Ward, P = Precinct

A Graphic Comparison of the Class III, IV & V
 Percentage Against the Percentage
 of No Votes Cast in
 Each Precinct

Appendix H

Graded Wages and Salaries with Hours Worked per Day and Week, and Variations in Rate for 1907¹

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis*	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
BAKERY									
Bread Bakers	m	d	5.00	2.00	1.00	10	60	310	826.77
Cake Bakers	m	d	3.00		1.25	10	60	310	691.30
Common Labor	m	d	2.00			10	60	310	620.00
Delivery Men	m	d	3.00		2.50	n**	n	310	852.50
Pie Bakers	m	d	3.00		1.25	10	60	310	691.30
Shipping Department	m	d	5.00	2.00	2.00	10	60	310	930.00
BAKERY PRODUCTS									
Bakers	m	w	15.00	10.50	7.50	9½	57	277	507.74
Box Makers	m	w	17.50	12.50	10.00	9½	57	277	615.59
Drivers	m	w	12.00	11.50	11.00	9½	57	277	531.84
Engineers	m	w	15.00		11.00	11	77	277	598.32
Firemen	m	w	12.00			10	60	277	554.00
Icing Girls	f	w	8.00	5.50	4.00	9½	57	277	269.24
Manager	m	m	233.33			9½	57	277	2,799.96
Office Help	m	w	23.08	12.00	9.00	10	60	277	578.37
Office Help	f	w	15.00	12.00	9.00	9½	57	277	554.00
Salesmen	m	m	175.00	90.00	60.00	n	n	277	1,299.96
Shippers	m	w	15.00	10.50	7.50	9½	57	277	507.74
Superintendent	m	w	30.00			n	n	277	1,385.00

*h-hour; d-day; m-month; w-week

**not reported

¹Iowa Bureau of Labor, Thirteenth Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the State of Iowa for the Biennial Period, 1906-1907 (Des Moines: Emory H. English, State Printer, 1908), pp. 43-55.

Appendix H cont.

Occupation	Sex	Race Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Hours per Day	Time Hours per Week	Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate				
BRICK MANUFACTURE									
Engineer	m	d	2.50		2.50	9	54	202	505.00
Firemen	m	d	2.50		2.50	12	84	202	505.00
House Machine Men	m	d	2.25		2.00	9	54	202	430.26
Kiln Firemen	m	d	2.10		2.10	12	84	202	414.10
Pit Men	m	d	1.80		1.80	9	54	202	363.60
Teamsters	m	d	2.00		1.75	9	54	202	379.76
Transfer Men	m	d	1.80		1.80	9	54	202	363.60
BROOM MANUFACTURE									
Broom Sorters	m	w	16.00	7.50	4.00	10	60	300	457.80
Broom Sorters	f	w	6.50		4.75	10	60	300	282.00
Broom Tiers	m	w	17.73	15.00	12.00	10	60	300	741.00
Common Labor	m	w	12.00		7.50	10	60	300	489.00
CASKET MANUFACTURE									
Brush Hands	m	w	20.00	15.00	12.00	10	60	312	783.80
Engineer	m	w	20.00			10	60	312	1,038.96
Laborers	m	w	10.50	9.00	9.00	10	60	312	493.90
Machine Hands	m	w	19.50	15.00	12.00	10	60	312	805.90
Sewing Girls	f	w	20.00	10.00	6.00	10	60	312	614.00
Teamsters	m	w	10.00			n	n	312	520.10
Upholsterers	m	w	19.50	15.00	8.00	10	60	312	780.00
CIGAR MANUFACTURE									
Cigarmakers	m	w	18.00	14.00	10.00	8	48	300	666.60
Strippers	f	w	7.00	6.00	3.00	8	48	300	266.40
CONFECTIONERY MANUFACTURE									
Chocolate Dipper	f	d	1.00		1.00	8	48	365	365.00
Clerks	f	m	45.00		30.00	9	54	365	393.75
Ice Cream Maker	m	m	45.00	40.00	35.00	8	48	365	480.00

190

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
CROCKERY									
Bookkeeper	m	w	25.00			n	n	n/a	n/a
Clerk	m	w	25.00	14.00	6.00	9	54	n/a	n/a
Clerks	f	w	20.00	10.00	6.00	9	54	n/a	n/a
Delivery Men	m	w	8.50			9	54	n/a	n/a
Stenographer	f	w	10.00			9	54	n/a	n/a
Stock & Shipping Clerk	m	w	11.50	11.50	8.00	10	60	n/a	n/a
ELECTRIC & POWER									
Ashmen	m	d	2.00		1.75	9	63	365	684.38
Arc Lamp Trimmer	m	m	70.00		50.00	9	54	365	720.00
Bookkeeper	m	m	125.00	75.00	60.00	9	54	365	1,040.00
Clerks	m	m	60.00	50.00	25.00	99	54	365	540.00
Emergency Men	m	m	50.00		45.00	10	60	365	570.00
Engineers	m	m	100.00	75.00	68.80	8	56	365	975.20
Firemen	m	m	70.00	65.00	60.00	8	56	365	780.00
Laborers	m	d	2.00		1.75	9	63	365	682.55
Linemen	m	d	3.12	2.87	2.75	9	54	365	911.77
Meter Men	m	m	75.00	55.00	40.00	9	54	365	680.00
Oilers	m	m	50.00		50.00	8	56	365	600.00
Repair Men	m	m	100.00	90.00	50.00	9	63	365	960.00
Solicitors	m	m	90.00	75.00	50.00	9	54	365	860.00
Stenographers	f	m	50.00		50.00	9	54	365	600.00
Stockmen	f	m	60.00	50.00	40.00	9	54	365	600.00
Switchboard Attendant	m	m	30.00		30.00	8	56	365	360.00
Teamsters	m	d	3.50		3.50	9	54	365	1,095.00
Water Power Men	m	m	50.00	45.00	35.00	12	84	365	520.00

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
FLOUR & FEED MANUFACTURE									
Cereal Department	f	w	6.00		3.50	10	60	294	232.26
Elevator Man	m	w	12.50		12.00	12	72	294	599.76
Engineers	m	w	16.50		15.75	12	72	294	794.86
Feed Department	m	w	10.00		9.00	10	60	294	467.52
Flour Department	m	w	10.00			10	60	294	490.98
Millers	m	w	41.66		12.00	12	72	294	1,314.18
Mill Laborers	m	w	10.00		9.00	10	60	294	467.52
Packers	m	w	11.00		9.00	10	60	294	490.98
Teamsters	m	w	11.50		10.00	10	60	294	536.26
Warehousemen	m	w	15.00		9.00	10	60	294	588.00
FOUNDRY & MACHINE SHOP									
Blacksmiths	m	h	.30		.30	9	54	305	823.50
Machinists	m	h	.38		.30	9	54	305	933.30
Molders	m	h	.38		.32	9	54	305	960.75
FURANCE MANUFACTURE									
Furance Makers	m	d	2.65	2.00	1.25	9	54	302	594.00
Furance Installers	m	d	3.25	2.75	2.50	9	54	302	855.57
Molders	m	d	3.50	3.00	2.50	9	54	302	906.00
Shopmen	m	d	3.50	2.25	1.75	9	54	302	855.00
Tin Department	m	d	2.60		2.50	9	54	302	770.00
GAS MANUFACTURE									
Bookkeepers	m	m	83.33	75.00	50.00	9	54	310	833.32
Cashiers	m	m	100.00		83.33	9	54	310	1,100.04
Clerks	m/f	m	55.00	45.00	30.00	9	54	310	520.00
Collectors	m	m	83.33	70.00	55.00	9	54	310	833.32
Demonstrator	f	m	90.00			9	54	310	1,080.00
Firemen	m	d	1.85		1.75	10	60	310	558.00

192

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Hours per Day	Time Hours per Week	Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate				
Fitters	m	d	2.12	2.00	1.75	9	54	310	606.36
Foreman	m	m	125.00	91.50	80.00	9	54	310	1,182.00
Gas Makers	m	d	2.50	2.00	1.85	10	60	310	654.00
Inspectors	m	d	2.50	2.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.00	9	54	310	710.52
Laborers	m	d	1.75	1.50	1.25	9	54	310	465.00
Salesmen	m	m	83.33	75.00	60.00	9	54	310	873.31
Stenographers	f	m	70.00	60.00	25.00	9	54	310	620.00
GENERAL CONTRACTING									
Bricklayer	m	d	5.00		5.00	8	48	308	1,540.00
Bricklayer Foreman	m	d	5.50		5.50	8	48	308	1,694.00
Carpenters	m	d	3.60	3.30	3.20	8	48	308	1,037.04
Carpenter Foreman	m	d	4.50		4.50	8	48	308	1,386.00
Cement Mason	m	d	3.00		3.00	9	54	308	924.00
Common Laborers	m	d	2.25	2.05	2.00	9	54	308	646.80
GENERAL CREAMERY BUSINESS									
Butter Makers	m	w	23.00	15.00	12.00	10	60	365	869.51
Chemist	m	w	15.00		15.00	10	60	365	782.50
Engineers	m	w	17.30		15.00	10	60	365	842.60
Office Help	f	w	15.00		12.00	9	54	365	704.25
Teamsters	m	w	12.00		12.00	10	60	365	626.00
GENERAL REPAIRING & MFG.									
Blacksmiths	m	d	3.00	2.50	2.25	9	54	308	795.56
Carriage Trimmers	m	d	3.00	2.50	2.25	9	54	308	795.56
Painters	m	d	3.00	2.50	1.50	9	54	308	718.56
Woodworkers	m	d	3.00	2.50	2.25	9	54	308	795.56

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
HARNESS & HORSE COLLAR MFG.									
Collar Factory	m	w	20.00	15.00	4.00	10	60	309	669.60
Harness Factory	m	w	24.00	13.00	3.00	10	60	309	686.60
Office Help	f	m	60.00		60.00	9	54	309	720.00
Shipping Department	m	w	28.85	18.00	10.00	9	54	309	976.44
LAUNDRY									
Clothes Ironer	f	w	7.00			10	56	308	444.75
Engineer	m	w	11.00			11	65	308	564.26
Exterior Man	m	w	6.00			10	58	308	308.00
Foundry Lady	f	w	10.00			10	56	308	513.44
Mangle Girls	f	w	5.00			10	58	308	256.26
Makers	f	w	8.00			9	54	308	411.18
Sorting Girls	f	w	10.00			10	54	308	513.44
Sorting Helper	f	w	6.00			9	54	308	308.00
Starcher	f	w	6.00			10	56	308	308.00
Washmen	m	w	15.00			10	58	308	870.00
Bookkeeper	f	w	10.00	9.00	7.00	9	54	308	445.06
Drivers	m	w	20.00	15.00	12.00	9	54	308	804.19
Engineers	m	w	15.00			11	66	308	772.00
Foremen	m	w	25.00			9	54	308	1,283.12
Laundresses	f	w	14.00	6.00	4.00	9	54	308	410.50
Washmen	m	w	10.00			9	54	308	513.44
Body Ironer	f	w	8.00	7.00	5.50	10	60	308	350.81
Bookkeeper	f	w	6.00		6.00	10	60	308	308.00
Engineer	m	w	10.00		10.00	10	60	308	513.44
Ironers	f	w	8.00	7.00	6.00	10	60	308	444.75
Mangle Workers	f	w	7.00	5.00	4.00	10	60	308	273.50
Neckband Ironers	f	w	7.00	6.00	5.50	10	60	308	316.62

194

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
Maker	f	w	12.00	11.00	10.00	10	60	308	564.26
Shirt Finisher	f	w	8.00	7.00	7.00	10	60	308	375.38
Shirt Polisher	f	w	12.00	10.00	8.00	10	60	308	513.44
Washerman	m	w	18.00	15.00	13.00	10	60	308	786.94
MACHINERY MANUFACTURE									
Blacksmiths	m	h	.41		.41	9	54	310	1,143.90
Machinists	m	h	.35	.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	.30	9	54	310	911.40
Molders	m	d	2.90	2.87	2.75	9	54	310	880.40
Pattern Makers	m	d	2.50	2.25	2.00	9	54	310	697.50
MACHINERY SUPPLY HOUSE									
Boiler Makers	m	h	.38	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	.16 $\frac{2}{3}$	9	54	310	717.03
Machinist	m	h	.40	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11	9	54	310	683.55
Office Clerks	m	m	150.00	60.00	14.00	9	54	310	896.00
Office Clerks	f	w	17.50	10.00	9.00	9	54	310	646.04
MATTRESS & PARLOR FURNITURE MFG.									
Finishers	m	w	18.00	12.00	5.00	10	60	310	602.95
Furniture Packers	m	w	15.00	12.00	10.00	10	60	310	637.05
Mattress Makers	m	w	20.00	12.00	4.50	10	60	310	628.37
Sewing Girls	f	w	12.00	8.00	5.00	9	54	310	585.90
Upholsters	m	w	22.00	15.00	6.00	10	60	310	740.90
MILL & CABINET WORK									
Apprentices	m	h	.25		.14	9	54	300	526.50
Benchmen	m	h	.30			9	54	300	870.20
Finishers	m	h	.30	.25	.16 $\frac{2}{3}$	9	54	300	642.60
Foreman	m	h	.35		.33 $\frac{1}{3}$	9	54	300	923.40
Machine Men	m	h	.33 $\frac{1}{2}$			9	54	300	904.50

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Hours per Day	Time Hours per Week	Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate				
MONUMENT MANUFACTURE									
Letters	m	h	.37½		.21	8	48	307	716.38
Salesmen	m	w	18.00		12.00	8	48	307	767.50
Setter	m	d	2.00			9	54	307	614.00
Stenographer	f	w	10.00		7.00	8	48	307	434.10
NEWSPAPER PUBLISHING									
Composing room	m/f	d	3.75			8	56	365	1,368.75
Press Room	m	w	26.00			8	56	365	1,355.61
Stenographer	m	w	20.00			8	56	365	1,042.81
PAINTS, OILS & GENERAL DECORATING									
Painters	m	h	.37½	.31½	.28 1/8	8	48	306	627.30
Paper Hangers (r)*	m		.14	.11½	.08½	8	48	306	n/a
PHARMACEUTICAL CHEMIST									
Ass. Superintendent	m	w	12.00			n	n	307	624.00
Bottle Washer	m	w	7.00		7.00	n	n	307	364.00
Driver	m	w	9.00			n	n	307	468.00
Fillers	f	w	4.00		4.00	n	n	307	208.00
Forelady	f	w	5.50			n	n	307	286.00
Helpers	m	w	8.00		8.00	n	n	307	416.00
Packers	m	w	8.50			n	n	307	442.00
Shipping Clerk	m	w	12.00		12.00	n	n	307	624.00
Wrappers	f	w	5.00			n	n	307	260.00

*per roll

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
PORK & BEEF PACKERS									
Blacksmiths	m	d	2.50			9	54	309	872.50
Carpenter	m	h	.32			9	54	309	889.92
Cattle Butchers	m	h	.50	.25	.20	9	54	309	881.58
Checkers	m	w	10.50	10.00	9.00	10	54	309	506.45
Copers	m	h	.30	.25	.22½	10	60	309	797.22
Engineers	m	w	19.25			10	70	309	849.75
Firemen	m	d	2.00			8	56	309	618.00
Hog Butchers	m	h	.27½	.22½	.20	10	60	309	720.89
Laborers	m	h	.20	.17	.15	10	60	309	540.75
Machinists	m	h	.33½			9	54	309	931.64
Sausage Maker	m	h	.25	.22½	.20	10	60	309	695.25
Scalers	m	w	12.00			10	60	309	718.00
Steam Fitter	m	w	18.00			9	54	309	927.00
Teamsters	m	w	12.00	11.50	11.00	10	60	309	592.35
POULTRY, BUTTER & EGGS									
Candlers	m	h	.20		.17½	10	60	310	581.25
Foreman	m	w	12.00			10	60	310	620.00
Managers	m	w	18.00		10.00	10	60	310	723.23
Miscellaneous Help	m	h	.25	.20	.17½	10	60	310	652.24
Packer	m	h	.25	.20	.17	10	60	310	651.00
Picker	m	h	.17½			10	60	310	542.50
Recording Clerk	m	w	15.00		14.00	10	60	310	748.34
Teamsters	m	w	14.00		12.00	10	60	310	671.46
PRINTING									
Bindery girls	f	w	10.00	7.00	4.00	9	54	310	361.46
Feeders	m	w	11.00		6.00	9	54	310	438.34
Pressmen	m	w	20.00		15.00	9	54	310	903.96
Printers	m	w	16.00			9	54	310	826.77

197

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Hours per Day	Time Hours per Week	Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate				
PRINTING & BINDING									
Binders	m	h	.18			9	54	310	502.20
Printer	m	h	.16			9	54	310	446.40
Binders	f		.06			9	54	310	n/a
Lithographers	m	h	.24			9	54	310	669.60
PRINTING & ADVERTISING SPECIALTIES									
Binders	f	w	6.00	5.00	4.50	9	54	307	264.33
Cylinder Pressmen	m	w	18.00			9	54	307	921.00
Cylinder Pressfeeders	m	w	10.50			9	54	307	595.25
Platen Pressmen	m	w	15.00	9.50		9	54	307	638.87
Platen Pressfeeders	m	w	6.50	5.50		9	54	307	307.00
Printers	m	w	20.00		18.00	9	54	307	971.96
PRINTING & PUBLISHING									
Bindery Department	m/f	w	8.00	5.00	3.00	9	54	308	273.50
Circulation	m/f	w	15.00	7.00	4.50	9	54	308	453.38
Composing	m/f	w	18.00	16.00	7.00	9	54	308	701.62
Electrotypers	m	w	22.00	15.00	6.00	9	54	308	735.50
Linotypers	m	w	25.00	20.00	14.00	9	54	308	1,009.62
Mailing	m/f	w	18.00	12.00	6.00	9	54	308	616.00
Pressmen	m	w	18.00	12.00	9.00	9	54	308	667.44
PROPRIETARY MEDICINE									
Filling Capsules	f	w	4.00	3.50	3.00	9	54	310	180.73
Folding Circulars	f	w	5.00	4.00	3.00	9	54	310	206.77
Press Feeding	f	w	5.00		5.00	9	54	310	258.32
Printers	m	w	15.00		12.00	9	54	310	697.50
Putting up goods	f	w	6.00	4.00	3.00	9	54	310	223.87

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Hours per Day	Time Hours per Week	Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate				
PROPRIETARY MEDICINES									
Compositors	m	w	16.00			8	48	310	826.77
Laboratory	f	w	9.00	5.00	3.00	8	48	310	292.95
Packers	m	w	13.00	12.00	12.00	8	48	310	637.05
Pressmen	m	w	16.00		16.00	8	48	310	826.77
RAILROAD REPAIR SHOP									
Boilermakers	m	h	.37			10	60	313	1,158.10
Car Man	m	h	.19½		.17	10	60	313	571.23
Foreman	m	m	95.00		60.00	10	60	313	930.00
Machinist	m	h	.37		.30	10	60	313	1,048.55
Machinist Helper	m	h	.17		.17	10	60	313	532.10
Wipers & Laborers	m	h	.17	.16	.15	10	60	313	500.80
RAILROAD REPAIR SHOP									
Blacksmith	m	h	.30			10	60	365	1,095.00
Blacksmith Helper	m	h	.18½			10	60	365	579.05
Boilermakers	m	h	.45	.41	.38	10	60	365	1,298.95
Boilermakers Helper	m	h	.22	.20	.18½	10	60	365	626.00
Boiler Washer	m	h	.20			10	70	365	730.00
Boiler Washer Helper	m	h	.15			10	70	365	547.50
Carpenter	m	h	.22½			10	60	365	704.25
Handy Man	m	h	.30		.25	10	60	365	860.75
Laborers	m	h	.15			10	70	365	547.50
Machinists	m	h	.45	.40	.37	10	60	365	1,272.00
Machinists	m	h	.20		.18½	10	60	365	617.58
RAILROAD REPAIR SHOP									
Carpenters	m	h	.27	.24½	.23	8	44	365	572.00
Clerks to Master Machinists	m/f	m	90.00	70.00	60.00	9	58	365	879.99
Clerks to Shops	m	m	60.00	55.00	50.00	10	65	365	660.00

199

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
RAILROAD REPAIR SHOP con't.									
Foreman	m	m	130.00	110.00	75.00	10	65	365	1,260.00
General Shopman	m	h	.36	.31½	.21	8	44	365	674.96
Laborers	m	h	.18½	.17	.17	11	77	365	802.64
Machinists	m	h	.36			8	44	365	708.05
Master Machanic	m	m	225.00			10	65	365	2,700.00
Watchmen	m	m	55.00			12	84	365	660.00
Wipers	m	h	.17		.16	10	70	365	682.25
RETAILER DRY GOODS & MILLINERY									
Buyers	m	m	250.00	150.00	65.00	9	54	311	1,860.00
Buyers	f	m	112.50	60.00	45.00	9	54	311	870.00
Helpers	m	m	38.00	26.00	15.00	9	54	311	315.96
Helpers	f	m	30.00	20.00	14.00	9	54	311	253.32
Sales People	m	m	100.00	65.00	45.00	9	54	311	840.00
Sales People	f	m	80.00	40.00	20.00	9	54	311	560.00
SADDLERY									
Factory	m	w	16.00			10	59	310	708.64
Office Clerk	m	m	125.00			9	53	310	1,500.00
Office Clerk	f	m	41.65			9	53	310	499.80
Travelling Men	m	m	100.00			9	53	310	1,200.00
SHEET METAL ROOFING									
Cornices Makers	m	h	.40	.37½	.35	8	48	308	924.00
Laborers	m	h	.30	.25	.20	8	48	308	616.00
Roofers	m	h	.45	.40	.37½	8	48	308	1,004.00
Tinners	m	h	.37½	.35	.30	8	48	308	840.84

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
SHOE MANUFACTURES									
Button & Finishing	m	w	35.00	10.00	5.00	10	60	101	280.58
Clerks	m	m	83.33	50.00	30.00	9	52	101	653.32
Clerks	f	m	70.00	50.00	30.00	8½	49	101	600.00
Cutting Room	m	w	25.00	19.00	3.00	10	59	101	263.71
Lasting	m	w	15.00	7.50	5.00	10	60	101	154.88
Packers	m	w	8.00	5.00	4.00	10	60	101	95.40
Salesmen	m	m	200.00	125.00	75.00	n	n	101	1,599.99
Stitching Room	f	w	25.00	6.00	3.00	10	60	101	190.64
Stock Room	m	w	13.25	6.00	5.00	10	59	101	136.05
Superintendent	m	m	216.66			n	n	101	2,599.99
SHIRT MANUFACTURE									
Pressers	m	w	15.00	12.00	9.00	9½	57	200	400.00
Tailors	f	w	10.00	7.50	4.50	9½	57	200	250.00
Cutters	m	w	23.50	17.00	12.00	9½	57	300	875.00
Pressers	m	w	18.00	12.00	9.00	9½	57	300	650.10
Seamstress	f	w	12.00	9.00	4.50	9½	57	300	425.10
Tailors	m	w	20.00	15.00	12.00	9½	57	300	783.30
SOAP MANUFACTURE									
Box Maker	m	w	8.50		8.50	9	54	310	439.27
Engineer	m	w	10.00			9	54	310	516.77
Soap Cutters	m	w	9.00		9.00	9	54	310	465.00
Soap Stampers	m	w	8.50	8.50	8.50	9	54	310	439.27
Soap Makers	m	w	20.00	8.50	8.50	9	54	310	637.05
Soap Wrappers	f	w	9.00	8.00	5.00	9	54	310	378.20
SODA WATER MANUFACTURE									
Bookkeeper	f	w	5.00			6	36	307	255.73
Bottlers	m	w	12.00			10	60	307	614.00
Bottle Washers	m	w	10.00		9.00	10	60	307	485.98

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
ODA WATER MANUFACTURE con't.									
Driver	m	w	10.00			10	60	307	511.77
Foremen	m	w	20.00		16.00	10	60	307	921.00
Salesmen	m	w	15.00			10	60	307	767.50
STEEL STAMPING MANUFACTURE									
Apprentices	m	w	10.00		10.00	9	54	313	521.77
Dye Makers	m	h	.50	.40	.35	9	54	313	1,171.87
Packers	f	h	.07½			9	54	313	211.28
Press Hands	m	h	.22½	.17½	.12½	9	54	313	492.98
STOVE & FURNACE CASTING MFG.									
Apprentices	m	w	9.50		6.00	9	54	310	400.21
Helpers	m	w	15.00	12.00	10.50	9	54	310	645.73
Machinists	m	w	18.00	15.00	13.50	9	54	310	800.73
Molders	m	w	23.50	19.00	15.00	9	54	310	1,050.59
Warehousemen	m	w	25.00	16.50	10.00	9	54	310	886.91
SUSPENDER MANUFACTURE									
Day Workers	m	w	8.00		4.00	9	52	310	310.00
Day Workers	f	w	5.00	3.50	3.00	9	52	310	182.00
Stretchers Piece Work	f	w	9.50	7.25	5.00	9	52	310	377.00
TELEPHONE EXCHANGE									
Cablemen	m	d	3.25		3.00	9	54	313	976.56
Cable Helpers	m	d	2.20			9	54	313	688.60
Cashiers	m	m	83.33		50.00	9	54	313	799.92
Clerks	f	m	40.00		35.00	9	54	313	450.00
Chief Operators	f	m	47.50		35.00	9	54	313	495.00
Collectors	m	m	50.00		40.00	9	54	313	540.00
Contract Agent	m	m	100.00			9	54	313	1,200.00
Foremen	m	m	93.50		82.50	9	54	313	1,044.00
Linemen	m	d	3.00	2.90	2.75	9	54	313	901.44

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Hours per Day	Time Hours per Week	Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate				
ELEPHONE EXCHANGE con't.									
Managers	m	m	125.00		100.00	9	54	313	1,350.00
Operators	f	m	40.00		15.00	9	54	313	330.00
Solicitors	m	d	2.00			9	54	313	626.00
Stenographer	f	m	40.00			9	54	313	480.00
TENT & AWNING MANUFACTURE									
Awning Hangers	m	w	12.00			n	n	310	620.00
Hand Workers	m	w	6.00		6.00	n	n	310	310.00
Machine Operators	f	w	7.00		7.00	n	n	310	351.77
Superintendent	m	w	15.00			n	n	310	775.00
THRESHING MACHINE SALES ROOM									
Bookkeeper	m	m	91.60			n	n	310	1,099.20
Machinist	m	m	70.00	65.00	52.00	n	n	310	747.99
Manager	m	m	200.00			n	n	310	2,400.00
Stenographer	f	m	37.66			n	n	310	571.92
Traveling Salesmen	m	m	117.50	83.33	75.00	n	n	310	1,103.32
THRESHING MACHINE & ENGINE MFG.									
Builders	m	d	3.85	2.50	2.50	10	60	310	914.50
Machinist	m	d	3.25	2.50	1.50	10	60	310	748.96
Wood Workers	m	d	3.75	2.50	2.00	10	60	310	852.50
TRUNK & CASE MANUFACTURES									
Case Maker	m	w	15.00			9	54	313	782.50
Clerks	m	w	25.00		18.00	9	54	313	1,123.98
Trunk Makers	m	w	15.00		7.00	9	54	313	573.73
Drayman	m	w	7.00			8	48	313	365.27
WAGON MANUFACTURE									
Blacksmiths	m	d	2.50			n	n	305	462.50
Painters	m	d	2.25			n	n	305	386.25
Trimmers	m	d	2.50			n	n	305	462.50
Wagon Makers	m	d	2.50			n	n	305	462.50

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Hours per Day	Time Hours per Week	Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate				
WIRE FENCE MANUFACTURE									
Salers	m	d	2.00			9	54	300	600.00
Foremen	m	d	3.00			9	54	300	900.00
Sorters	f	w	4.75			8	48	300	298.20
Teamsters	m	d	2.00			9	54	300	600.00
WHOLESALE BROKERAGE & COMMISSION									
Assistant Manager	m	m	83.33			9	54	300	999.96
Clerks	m	w	10.50			10	60	300	525.00
Stenographers	f	w	15.00			9	54	300	750.00
WHOLESALE DRUGGIST									
Office Clerks	m	w	15.00	12.00	10.00	10	60	312	641.16
Office Clerks	f	w	13.00	12.00	6.00	9	54	312	539.58
Order Clerks	m	w	15.00	12.00	9.00	10	54	312	614.00
Order Clerks	f	w	4.00			9	54	312	208.10
WHOLESALE DRY GOODS									
Bookkeeper	m	m	125.00			9	54	n/a	1,500.00
Firemen & Janitor	m	w	10.00		10.00	10	60	n/a	n/a
Salemen	m	m	83.33		53.00	10	60	n/a	817.98
Shipping Clerk	m	w	12.00		12.00	10	60	n/a	n/a
Stenographer	f	w	10.00		10.00	9	54	n/a	n/a
Superintendent	m	m	208.66			9	54	n/a	2,503.92
Travelling Salesmen	m	m	141.50		70.00	10	60	n/a	1,269.00
WHOLESALE GROCERIES									
Bookkeepers	f	m	100.00		75.00	9	54	310	1,050.00
Cashiers	f	m	85.00			9	54	310	1,020.00
Office Boys	m	w	11.00		6.00	10	60	310	439.27
Receiving Clerks	m	w	12.00			10	60	310	620.00
Salemen	m	w	37.00	20.00	15.00	10	60	310	1,240.00
Shipping Clerk	m	w	15.00		12.50	10	60	310	710.21
Stenographers	f	m	75.00	45.00	35.00	9	54	310	619.99

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
WHOLESALE HARDWARE									
Office Clerks	m	m	54.16			10	60	310	649.92
Salesmen	m	m	93.94			10	60	310	1,127.28
Stenographers	f	m	45.00			9	54	310	540.00
Stock Men	m	m	51.94			10	60	310	623.28
WHOLESALE LIQUORS									
Barkeepers	m	w	15.00			8½	51	310	930.00
Drivers	m	w	13.50			11	66	310	697.50
Warehouse Men	m	w	12.00			10	60	310	620.00
WHOLESALE MEATS									
Bookkeeper	m	w	18.00			10	60	309	927.00
Cashier	m	w	12.00			10	60	309	618.00
Manager	m	w	37.50			11	66	309	1,931.25
Salesmen	m	w	19.00		18.00	11	66	309	952.65
Shipping Clerk	m	w	19.00			11	66	309	978.00
Teamsters	m	w	12.00			11	66	309	618.00
WHOLESALE OILS									
Drivers	m	m	55.00	50.00	50.00	n	n	360	600.00
Foremen	m	m	86.68			n	n	360	1,040.16
Office Clerks	m	m	135.00	40.00	30.00	n	n	360	819.99
Office Clerks	f	m	50.00		50.00	n	n	360	600.00
Superintendent	m	m	110.00			n	n	360	1,320.00
Warehousemen	m	m	60.00		50.00	n	n	360	660.00
WHOLESALE OILS									
Barrell Room Help	m	d	2.62	2.15	1.50	10	60	310	647.90
Bookkeeper	m	m	75.00		60.00	10	60	310	810.00
Travelling Salemen	m	m	125.00		85.00	14	75	310	1,260.00
Stenographers	f	m	55.00		40.00	10	60	310	570.00
Wagon Men	m	m	60.00	55.00	50.00	10	60	310	660.00

Appendix H con't.

Occupation	Sex	Rate Basis	Rate of Wages			Working Time		Days of Operation	Average Annual Wages
			Highest Rate	Medium Rate	Lowest Rate	Hours per Day	Hours per Week		
WOOLEN MILLS									
Carding	m	w	21.00			10	60	300	1,050.00
Dyeing	m	w	15.00			10	60	300	750.00
Finishing	m	w	18.00	12.00	10.50	10	60	300	675.00
Spinnin	m	w	21.00			10	60	300	1,050.00
Spooling	m	w	13.50			10	60	300	675.00
Weaving	m	w	18.00	12.00	9.00	10	60	300	816.30
Weaving	f	w	12.00	9.00	7.50	10	60	300	474.90
Wool Sorting	m	w	13.50			10	60	300	675.00
WRAPER & PETTICOAT MANUFACTURE									
Inspectors	f	w	12.00			9 3/4	57	300	600.00
Cutters	m	w	14.00			9 3/4	57	300	899.90
Seamstreeses	f	w	6.00			9 3/4	57	300	300.00

Appendix I

Results of Newspaper Ballot Taken by the Des Moines Daily Capitol to Determine Public Sentiment in
 Regard to a Change of Government¹

	For Change	Against Change	Galveston	Indianapolis
Ward 1	205	5	110	78
2	120	4	80	31
3	259	6	131	103
4	244	4	108	81
5	89	2	67	29
6	140	1	84	52
7	<u>37</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>38</u>
Totals	1094	23	606	412

¹Des Moines Daily Capitol, January 14, 1907; See also,
Des Moines Register and Leader, January 12, 1907. The results of the
Register and Leader poll were:

112 for Change	3 Against
63 for Galveston Plan	26 for Indianapolis Plan
13 no Choice	
16 Favored Elimination of Partisanship	